

CRISTO RAUL. THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

**THE  
HISTORY OF THE POPES  
FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES**

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**PIUS IV  
1559-1565**



Preface and Introduction

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

At the present time the attention, not only of Catholics, but of the whole world, is more than ever directed to the Holy See, which stands out as the one solid rock amid the subversive and anarchical tendencies of our day. For the proper understanding of this, the most ancient, yet still so vigorous international power, it is above all necessary fully to understand her historical development. To set this forth, since the close of the Middle Ages, in accordance with the facts drawn from the best authorities, and in the most objective form possible, is the task to which I have set myself. For the latter half of the XVIth century I have had to make use of unpublished documents to an even greater extent than in the preceding volumes, since the subject which had to be treated in many ways resembled fallow land, which has first to be broken up with the plough before its actual cultivation can be begun. I have been actively occupied in procuring, examining and preparing all the documents available in Archives, and also in taking the fullest advantage of the immense amount of literature which is to be found in so many publications. The material increased to such an extent in this method of dealing with it that the original plan of uniting the closely related pontificates of Pius IV and Pius V had to be abandoned, and a division made. Both volumes were almost completed when the international war broke out and rendered their publication impossible. The literature which has since appeared, though not amounting to very much, has been added.

The dedication of the present volume to the eminent historian of the Council of Trent may serve as a remembrance of the twenty-five years which we spent in the Eternal City in close fraternal research and happy mutual labour in the same field. It is also, however, an expression of gratitude for the furtherance of my work by many valuable hints and suggestions drawn from the literary remains of our mutual friend, Professor Anton Pieper, who died so prematurely, and whose vast researches afforded important matter, especially for Pius V.

In spite of being cut off from Rome by the war, the past five years could nevertheless be utilized for the continuation of the History of the Popes, as the extracts from archives had long been collected. The difficulties resulting from the circumstances of the times were, however, very great, yet, in spite of this, it was possible to bring the description of the pontificates of Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Paul V and Gregory XV in all essential points, to completion, so that future volumes will follow closely upon one another. Should God grant me further life and health I may therefore hope for the happy completion of this work, to which I have devoted my powers since my youth. May it contribute to the resumption of relations with foreign scholars, so rudely broken off by the storms of war. Historical science cannot forego such an interchange of thoughts and ideas without suffering grave and lasting damage.

Pastor.

Innsbruck, Oct. 27th, 1919.

## INTRODUCTION.

The restoration of ecclesiastical life in the XVIth century arose, as it had done in the days of Gregory VII, from within the Church herself, but with this difference, that the first incentive thereto was not given by the Holy See and the hierarchy, as had been the case in the XIth century, but by various individuals inspired by God. These, clinging fast to the precious treasure of the old faith, and firmly maintaining obedience to lawful ecclesiastical authority, worked, with burning zeal and unwearying diligence, first for their own sanctification, and only afterwards for the radical reform of their contemporaries. It is true that their endeavours for reform could only take firm root and permeate the whole Church when the Apostolic See took them in hand, and this turn of affairs, made possible by the agency of the great Popes of the houses of Farnese and Carafa, took place under the fourth and fifth Pius.

The foundation of a Catholic reformation was laid by the Council of Trent, which also pronounced so clearly in matters of dogma. The completion of the Council was the work of Pius IV, who, in spite of the greatest difficulties, succeeded in once more opening this general assembly of the Church, on which, in the midst of the great apostasy from Rome, all the hopes of the faithful were fixed. With unwearied patience the Pope held fast to the Council, and steered it with the greatest sagacity through renewed troubles both from within and without, until he was at last able to bring it to a happy conclusion. A clever and sagacious man, he again limited the Inquisition to its proper sphere, and at once renewed the diplomatic relations with the Imperial court which had been broken off by his impetuous predecessor.

Though personally inclined to a more secular course of action, Pius IV, by his confirmation of the decrees of the Council, by his appointment of a special congregation to see to the carrying out of those decrees, as well as by his continuation of other important undertakings, such as the rearrangement of the Index, the compilation of a Catechism, and the reform of important liturgical books, proved his comprehension of the tasks of the Church, and won an ever lasting name by his work for Catholic reform. By confirming the decrees of the Council, he for the first time gave to the various regulations a legal sanction, while only by his care in enforcing their execution could the written law be introduced into active life, and the renewal of the ecclesiastical state be inaugurated.

In this manner the Apostolic See proved itself to be, even under a Pope in whose character there were many faults, a solid foundation and a safe place of refuge for the renewal of the prosperity of the Church. Without his intervention the entire reform work of Trent would have remained in the condition in which the canons of the previous sessions were at the time of the new assembly of the Council in 1562; that is to say, still awaiting execution because they had not as yet been confirmed by the Holy See.

Pius IV also continued with much greater success than his predecessor the regeneration of the Roman Curia, and the reform of its tribunals and scholastic institutions. It was, it is true, of extreme importance in this respect that his nephew and Secretary of State, Charles Borromeo, stood at his side as his assistant and adviser, a man who, like Gaetano di Ticne, Ignatius Loyola and Philip Neri, embodied the spirit of Catholic reformation in its purest form.

The carrying out of the decrees of the Council and the abolition of the manifold abuses which had taken such deep root during the period of the Renaissance naturally could not be the work of a single pontificate. It was therefore of the utmost importance that the right man, in the person of Pius V (1566—1572), should have ascended the throne of St. Peter to carry into effect the reform plan of the Council of Trent, and to awaken new life in every part of Catholic Christendom. In his person the Papacy became the representative and the director of the Catholic reformation. This son of St. Dominic, a man who was on fire with consuming zeal for the purity of the faith, and of morals, and one who was absolutely unyielding when ecclesiastical affairs and the rights of the Church were in question, knew neither fear nor consideration for worldly interests. Without the faults and weaknesses of Paul IV, he yet saw eye to eye with him in so many matters that his adherents in Rome could joyfully proclaim that the Theatine Pope had risen again. Their jubilation was well founded. Like Paul IV, who with iron hand had demolished deeply rooted, inveterate, and apparently ineradicable abuses, Pius V courageously took up the difficult task of reform, and fearlessly devoted to it all his powers and all his holy zeal.

The spiritual affinity with Paul IV, whom Pius V venerated in many respects as a father, shows itself in no small degree in the manner in which he fulfilled his task of guarding the treasure of faith in the Church and of protecting her against the assaults of the religious innovators. The means he employed in so doing were entirely in keeping with the character of a time when force and compulsion were used to subdue spiritual revolt, the strongest measures seeming all the more necessary as the attacks of the innovators were always increasing in violence.

In the new and ever extending form of Protestantism founded by Cabin there existed a far more dangerous, systematic and consistent enemy than in Lutheranism, which was now growing torpid, and was being tom to pieces by disputes within itself. Calvinism, with its rigid organization, its harsh doctrines, its demand for the bloody extermination of Catholics, and its propaganda, was fanning to fever heat the lust of Protestantism to attack the old Church. An international monument was thereby called into being to such an extent that Geneva became almost a second Rome, and Calvin another Pope, who carried on a correspondence in every direction with the whole of Europe. In Germany and Scandinavia, Protestantism in its Lutheran form had already gained a firm footing, and Calvinism therefore threw itself with all its force upon the west of Europe, in order completely to annihilate the Catholic Church beyond the Alps. Together with the Germans, the Romans, as well as the Slavs and Magyars were always being more and more involved in the religious changes, and led into opposition to the Papacy. A third form of Protestantism had at the same time arisen in England, in the Episcopal State Church. The one point on which the reformers were agreed was the complete subjection and eradication of Catholic

worship, the practice of which was in many places, especially in England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark and Sweden, even punishable by death.

The Catholics were, therefore, earning on a war of self-preservation when they sacrificed everything to prevent the inroads of Protestantism, or to drive it out where it had already obtained a footing. Pius V, who opposed the enemies of the Church with all his power, did not live to see the issue of the embittered struggle.

Whilst this most violent battle was being fought within the limits of Christendom, the Church was at the same time being threatened by the gravest danger from without by Islam, the inveterate enemy of the name of Christ. The Papacy has a special claim to glory for having, even at this moment of greatest trouble, kept true to its old tradition of being the guardian and shield of Christendom and its civilization against the approach of danger from the east.

Even during the period of the Renaissance the Holy See had preserved the ideal of the Crusades with regard to the increasingly threatening attack of the infidel, and, in proportion to its material power, had done far more towards the repulse of the terrible enemy than any other power in Europe. From Nicholas V to Paul III most of the Popes had taken the lead whenever it was a question of protecting or defending Christendom and the civilization of the west against the power of Islam.

The Holy See was the originator and the active supporter of all the coalitions directed against the Turks, while all the attempts to rouse Christendom to a common enterprise against the infidel found in it a warm ally. Even during the stormy period of the apostasy from the faith, Paul III succeeded in 1538 in forming a league between the Emperor and Venice to avert the Turkish danger. It was only when the powerful maritime Republic concluded a peace with the Porte in 1540, that other grave religious and political troubles arose for the Popes, and drove the thought of the Crusades into the background.

Twenty-five years now passed without any concerted attack having been made by the Christian states upon the enemy in the east. Even during this time, however, Spain and the Knights of Malta had received valuable help from the Holy See in their resistance to the pressure of the Turks in the Mediterranean. Pius IV shared in the successful repulse of the dangerous Turkish advance on Malta in 1565. The saintly Pius V, in spite of his advanced years, employed all his strength with youthful vigour to secure a victory for the Cross over the Crescent. While the French government maintained its former friendly relations with the Porte, and Elizabeth of England concluded a treaty with the infidels, in the interests of commerce and for the sake of making common cause with them in the struggle against Catholic Spain, the Pope, alone in the midst of a Europe torn asunder by political rivalries and religious hatred, unselfishly kept in view the great purpose of protecting the west and its civilization against the might of Islam. As his ecclesiastical policy reminds us forcibly of the days of the Middle Ages, so do his attempts at a Crusade, a purpose to which he devoted himself with the same fiery zeal as that which once armed the nations of Europe for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. Great as the difficulties were he never lost courage; to realize the dream of Pius II was his constant aspiration, and he was destined in the end

to attain a brilliant success, for, after overcoming indescribable difficulties, he succeeded in uniting such opposing elements as the Spanish King and the Republic of St. Mark in a great combined undertaking against the Turks, and became thereby the saviour of Europe. The glorious victory of Lepanto, which saved southern Europe from being overrun by Islam, and the beautiful basin of the Mediterranean from being transformed into a Turkish lake, and inaugurated the downfall of the fleet of the infidels, till then considered invincible, was his work.

The jubilation with which the western world received the news of the crushing defeat of the dreaded enemy of Christian civilization, was reflected on the Papacy which was being so violently challenged and insulted by the religious innovators.

Great, however, as were the merits of Pius V with regard to the repulse of the Turkish danger, and these assure him for ever a place of honour among the Popes, the real significance of his pontificate lies in the sphere of affairs within the Church. Acts of the highest importance, such as the compilation of the Roman Catechism, the reform of the Breviary and Missal, and the Congregation of the Index, are indissolubly associated with his name. But above all, it is as the reformer of ecclesiastical life that he stands out in majestic grandeur. The influence which he exercised over his contemporaries in this direction, both at home and abroad, and on the development of the Church, has been justly described as immeasurable.

That which the noblest spirits had prayed for and ardently desired since the close of the Middle Ages, namely, the reform of the Church in its head and in its members, was accomplished by him with an iron will and a holy zeal which shrank before no difficulties. Everywhere, wherever he found it necessary, he laid his reforming hand, in Germany as in Switzerland, in France as in Poland, but above all in Rome itself. His decrees are more numerous and far-reaching even than those of Paul IV. The Papal court, as well as the whole Curia, was reformed, the Penitentiary completely transformed, and nepotism swept away. The College of Cardinals, the episcopate, the secular clergy, the religious orders both of men and women, and the laity itself, experienced the zeal with which the aged Pontiff carried on his work of reformation.

Whoever investigates the reign of Pius V in the light of the original documents must come to the conclusion that this Pope was one of those great spirits to whom their own interests are as nothing, but the object for which they are striving is all in all. In his eyes, his temporal sovereignty was of very secondary importance in comparison with his office of supreme pastor of the Church. The renewal of all the faithful in Christ was the only aim he followed; all worldly and political interests were far from his mind, and the salvation of souls alone filled his heart. Again and again he repeated that he felt responsible before God for the souls of the whole world, and that he must therefore keep in view nothing but the leading back of those who were straying from the truth, the conversion of sinners, and the reformation of the clergy.

Pius V, like the great Popes of the golden age of medieval days, presented to the world the noble spectacle of the successor of St. Peter, amid the appalling

dangers threatening them from without, watching over the eternal interests of the new converts in distant lands with the same care as he devoted to the oppressed Catholics in the different countries of Europe. He was indefatigable in sending to the bishops of the Old as well as the New World, apostolic words of admonition and encouragement, in consoling the missionaries as far off as in Abyssinia, and in caring for the newly converted Moors in Spain, as carefully as he looked after the needs of oriental lands. His pastoral love embraced without distinction all the peoples of Europe : Romans and Germans, as well as Slavs. From the height of Peter's throne, he cast the eye of an unwearying shepherd over the whole world, and nothing of importance escaped his sight. Wherever he perceived any deviation from doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline, he intervened to warn or to reprimand, imposing everywhere the strictest standard, and vigorously combating every infringement of ecclesiastical liberty. He greatly valued Philip II as a supporter of the Church, but that did not prevent him from opposing the national church policy of that egotistical ruler, while he was also capable of making his will and his position effective even in the case of his most faithful and best fellow workers in the cause of reform and renewal. When the legislation of the Jesuits did not appear to him quite to coincide with that of St. Thomas, he at once took decisive steps and changed what his predecessors had allowed. The Capuchin, Pistoja, who was in other respects highly esteemed by the Pope, must have had a painful surprise when he ventured to submit a memorandum concerning matters with which he had nothing to do. Free from every trace of favouritism for persons or institutions, and free from passing moods or unregulated passions, Pius V weighed all questions solely in accordance with ecclesiastical doctrine and canon law. In all his actions he stood out as the embodiment of the Catholic spirit; he devoted the revenues of the Apostolic See, which so many of the Renaissance Popes had used for the enrichment of their relatives or for the prosecution of worldly aims, exclusively to the defence of the ancient faith. His reign was in all respects a contrast to the outwardly brilliant but worldly period of the Rovere, Borgia and Medici Popes. This saintly Pontiff, by his simple and ascetic life, made expiation, as it were, for all those points in which his predecessors had been found wanting.

Peter Canisius has justly described it as a special dispensation of Divine Providence that in Pius V a man was sent to the assistance of the Church, who with holy assiduity entered the lists on behalf of the faith, and sought the renovation of Christendom with burning zeal. As a Pontiff whose whole thoughts and aspirations were fixed far beyond earthly interests, on the imperishable blessings of eternity, he begins that line of pious and able Popes, worthy of all reverence, who led the Catholic reformation and restoration from victory to victory. A great part of what was accomplished by his successors, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, was a direct consequence of his glorious achievements.



CHAPTER I.

THE CONCLAVE OF 1559

The wild outburst of hatred indulged in by the populace, during the course of which Paul IV closed his eyes in death on August 18th, 1559, reached its climax and its conclusion in the exciting scenes which took place two days later. The statue of the hated reformer of morals lay in pieces, the coat-of-arms of the Carafa was everywhere torn down, and the prisons of the demolished buildings of the Inquisition lay empty. On the morning of the 21st the fury of the people seemed to be appeased, and quiet was once more restored in the city.

There was, however, still no lack of less violent manifestations against the hated Carafa. Ascanio della Corgna, who had been forced to fly before the anger of Paul IV returned from banishment on August 21st, and was again able to appear in the streets of Rome as a prince. Marcantonio Colonna, who had been declared an outlaw by the dead Pope, and compelled to forfeit his estates in favour of Giovanni Carafa, likewise reappeared in the Eternal City on August 21st. The people went to meet him, and received him with the liveliest signs of joy. Colonna had regained all his former possessions, with the exception of Paliano, but he assured the Cardinals on August 22nd that he was prepared to obey the commands of the future Pope.

The supreme senate of the Church also allowed it to be clearly seen that it was not in all matters of one mind with its deceased head. Cardinal Morone was, to the great satisfaction of the whole court released from his prison in the Castle of St. Angelo, in accordance with the decision of the majority of the Sacred College, and, contrary to the decree of Paul IV, he also received back the passive right of election in the approaching conclave. The Cardinals dealt otherwise with Alfonso Carafa. This prelate, whom his uncle had appointed President of the Apostolic Camera, and, as such, had given him equal rights with the Cardinal Camerlengo during the time of the vacancy in the Holy See, found that he could make no use of these rights. At his first attempt to do so, he met with strong opposition from the Cardinal Camerlengo, Sforza, of whose opposition the Sacred College fully approved. It was Sforza, too, a violent opponent of the Carafa, who on August 23rd read to the assembled Cardinals a letter of Ascanio della Corgna, containing bitter accusations against the late Pope and his nephews, and it would seem that not a single voice was raised in favour of the Pontiff who had barely closed his eyes in death.

A fresh incentive was given to the hatred against the Carafa when, just at this moment, news was spread of the shocking occurrences which had taken place in the family of the Duke of Paliano. Giovanni Carafa had, on the confession, under torture, of a supposed paramour of his wife, killed him with twenty-seven

thrusts of a dagger. On August 29th the wretched wife followed her supposed seducer into death; in spite of her pregnancy, she was strangled by her own brother and another relative. The Roman people saw in this family tragedy a Divine judgment on the Duke, who had had so little reverence for the honour of women.

Under such circumstances, a speech which Ascanio della Corgna made on the Capitol on August 30th against the Carafa was bound to make a doubly deep impression. On the following day, August 31st, a popular vote declared the whole of the Carafa family, with the exception of the two Cardinals, deprived of their civil rights as Roman citizens, and begged, in the presence of the former mighty Carlo Carafa, permission of the Sacred College to drive the Duke of Paliano, Giovanni Carafa, and his family out of his towns of Gallese and Soriano and horn all the States of the Church.

This arrogant demand was received with indignation by the Cardinals. When Pirro Taro, the Conservator of the city, again appeared on September 1st, with the representatives of the people, to receive the answer to their request, Cardinal Carpi, in the absence of the Dean, du Bellay, gave them a severe reprimand on account of the recent excesses, and, at the same time, he forbade them to take any proceedings on their own authority, and, in fatherly terms, gravely admonished them to keep the peace, and to think of the public weal. Taro, in his reply, sought to make excuses for the people by expatiating on the burdens of the war and the heavy taxes during the late pontificate, and the encroachments of the Carafa. The College of Cardinals had already taken the part of the Carafa family when Count Giovanni Francesco Bagno had attempted to take possession of the little town of Montebello, of which he had been deprived by Paul IV in favour of Antonio Carafa; on August 26th the Cardinals had forbidden the Duke of Florence to afford any assistance to Count Bagno. However, all the signs of favour, as well as of hostility, which the Carafa family received, were of little account in comparison with the fact that, in virtue of a decree of the Sacred College, Carlo Carafa was recalled from banishment and again put in possession of all the rights of a Cardinal. In view of the mere fact of the great number of his adherents, the prediction of the French ambassador in Venice that Cardinal Carafa would play but an unimportant part in the coming conclave, appeared to be altogether illusory.

The regulation of the canon law that after the death of a Pope the nine days obsequies should be commenced at once, and be followed on the tenth day by the opening of the conclave, was once more not exactly observed on this occasion. The solemn services for the repose of the soul of Paul IV were only begun on August 23rd, and lasted, with breaks on the intervening Sundays and holidays, till September 4th. On the following day, after the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the usual sermon, preached on this occasion by the well-known humanist, Giulio Pogiano, the Cardinals went into the Vatican for the conclave, although no one had the least idea that this was to last for three months and twenty-one days.

Many of the Cardinals who were not present in Rome arrived in the Eternal City even before the conclusion of the obsequies, so that on the morning of September 5th thirty-five voters, and on the evening of the same day, yet another five were able to repair to the conclave; Armagnac and Capizuchi remained in the

city on account of illness. After the beginning of the election proceedings several more Cardinals arrived in Rome. The original number of forty electors had been increased by September 28th to forty-seven, but by October 12th it had fallen to forty-four, in consequence of illness, though it had risen to forty-eight by the 31st of the month. Capodiferro died on December 1st, and Dandino on the 4th, while du Bellay and Saraceni returned to the city on the advice of their physicians. At the actual election, therefore, only forty-four voters took part. Seven Cardinals remained absent from the conclave altogether; these were, beside the Spaniard Mendoza and the Portuguese Prince Henry, the five Frenchmen, Givry, Vendome, Odet de Chatillon, Meudon, who died in November, and Charles of Lorraine who, with his brother Francis, was acting as Regent for the king, who was a minor. Cardinal Consiglieri had died on August 25th.

In order to maintain public order 400 men had been levied for the defence of the Capitol by the magistrates, on August 23rd, and on the 24th 3,000 additional soldiers and 300 cavalry were appointed to guard the city.

Long before the beginning of the conclave attention had been directed to the approaching Papal election from many different quarters. Paul IV had especially sought to exclude two Cardinals from attaining to the supreme dignity; the highly respected Cardinal Morone, whose faith, in the opinion of the Pope, was not above suspicion, and the wealthy Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, who had great experience in everything connected with diplomacy, but who was completely unworthy.

In his decrees concerning the Papal election, Paul IV had especially these two Cardinals in mind, and when he had Morone arrested and Este banished he was in no small degree led to this step by the fear that one of them might reach the Papal throne. He detested Este on account of his simoniacal attempts to gain possession of the tiara. He had even attacked the Cardinal of Ferrara, declaring him to be a Simon Magus, in the very conclave from which he came forth as Pope, and on the second anniversary of his election he admonished the Cardinals to allow God to appoint the Pope, and not to choose one who had bills of exchange to the value of from 100,000 to 200,000 scudi in his pocket, and could grant benefices worth from 50,000 to 60,000 scudi, like that Simon Magus whom they all knew. At same time Paul IV's own nephew, Cardinal Carafa, was secretly working, with French support, even during his uncle's lifetime, for the elevation of Este.

The Cardinal of Ferrara had already been the candidate of France at three Papal elections, and after the death of Paul IV he was more than ever certain, to continue to be so, as he was connected by marriage with the most powerful French statesmen, the family of Guise. He himself strove with great energy to attain the Papal dignity, although he had small prospect of success, on account of his unworthiness. His boundless riches, the favour of the princes, and the splendour of his illustrious family were all as much in his favour as his personal qualities. According to Guidus he was possessed of a truly terrible vigilance, of incredible persistence, and had besides an unusual charm of manner, which won for him all he desired. In order not to injure his own prospects he was clever enough to arrange that only those Cardinals should be put forward as candidates of whose election there was no possible chance, and, on the other hand, that those who

enjoyed the favour of many supporters should remain in the background. It was he who was chiefly responsible for the long duration of the conclave.

The French government wished Cardinal Tournon to be the next Pope, should Este's election not be possible, and after him, Cardinal Gonzaga; there were, besides, several other Cardinals, such as Pisani, Armagnac, and du Bellay, who would not have been displeasing to the French. Carpi, on the other hand, was to be absolutely barred as a candidate. It was feared that he would, as Pope, endeavour to get back the lost principality of Carpi for his family, and thus give rise to political complications. In other respects, France no longer had the same interest in the election as on former occasions. After the death of Henry II, on July 10th, 1559, Francis II, who was a minor, had ascended the throne, and the regency of the two Guise brothers had to contend with such difficulties in their own country that, for the time being, France could not think of new conquests in Italy. In addition to this, French statesmen had come to the conclusion, since the last Franco-Spanish war, that it would be much better for France to give up the policy of seeking for territory in Italy. The instructions for the French ambassador in Rome, accordingly, were to the effect that if none of the proposed candidates could be pushed through, it would be well to support someone else, irrespective of nationality, provided that he were worthy of the dignity, and free from ambition.

Spain, too, no longer thought of conquests in Italy. The aims of Philip II were to preserve peace in his own dominions, and to strengthen the Catholic Church against the new doctrines, and, if only for the latter reason, he was deeply interested as to who should obtain the tiara. When Philip appointed Don Juan de Figueroa as his ambassador in Rome, shortly after the war with Paul IV, he impressed upon his envoy that his most important task would be his procedure at the next Papal election. However anxious Philip may have been that no one should be elected to the Papal throne who would begin a new war with Spain, Figueroa was nevertheless instructed not to endeavour, in the first place, to gain influence in the conclave in any political sense or from a political point of view. The king was much more anxious to have a Pope "who would be zealous for the service of God, and for the well-being and pacification of Christendom, who would eradicate religious errors and disputes, and prevent their spread, and who would devote himself to the urgently-needed work of reform, and who would preserve Christendom, and especially Italy, which had been so sorely tried by the war, in peace and unity." Should a candidate, possess all these qualities, then his readiness to represent the actual interests of Spain was not to weigh too much in the balance. As desirable candidates Philip then indicated Carpi, Morone, Puteo, Medici and Dolera. Morone and Dolera, who had only recently been elevated to the cardinalate, had little prospect of being elected, and were only mentioned out of courtesy. Este and all Frenchmen were to be excluded.

As far as Figueroa was concerned, these instructions had no importance, since Paul IV would not accept him as ambassador on account of a former interference on his part in the rights of the Inquisition. When at length the Pope was willing to receive him, and Philip repeated his orders in an Instruction of July 13th, 1559, Figueroa died on July 28th, 1559, at Gaeta. The king then appointed Francisco de Vargas, his former representative in Milan. He sailed from Antwerp on August 31st, and reached Rome on September 25th. Figueroa's instructions

were also to be followed by him, although he applied them in a much more arbitrary manner.

Count Francis von Thurm, hitherto the representative of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, in Venice, arrived in Rome on August 28th as his ambassador. In this office, Thurm can hardly be said to have represented an independent policy, but rather to have followed that of Vargas.

Duke Cosimo of Florence, on the other hand, secretly endeavoured to obtain a great influence over the proceedings of the conclave. It was not enough for him that his two envoys, Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi and Matteo Concini, were present in Rome, but he also sent Bartolomeo Concini there, who was initiated into all the secrets of his policy. Two of his agents, one of them the adroit Lottino, were admitted to the conclave as supposed attendants on Cardinals. Cosimo tried himself to win over the electors to his plans by letters, and not everyone had the courage, like Cardinal Dandino, to reject these letters, or to answer, like Cardinal Scotti, that the Duke should attend to the affairs of his dominions and leave the Papal election to the Cardinals. For some years the Medici family had been connected by marriage with that of Este, and it is easy to understand that Cardinal d'Este should now have sought to approach the Duke, and that this ambitious Prince of the Church should have endeavoured to win over this powerful ally to the support of his long-cherished designs on the tiara. Cosimo pretended to accept his proposals, but his concurrence was not sincere. He also promised his assistance to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, when she begged for his support for Este, but at the same time he offered his services to the Spanish king against the Cardinal, and, as a matter of fact, in the conclave he left Este in the lurch and worked directly against him. According to Cosimo's view, Cardinal de' Medici was, as a matter of course, the only possible candidate, but this preference, which was well known in the conclave from the first, rather prejudiced than helped the Cardinal in the eyes of many, for a Pope who had at his command the whole influence of the powerful Florentine Duke was to be dreaded. Cosimo, however, refrained from openly influencing the Cardinals during October and November; it was only towards the end of the conclave that he interfered decisively.

The peculiar party conditions existing among the electors made it possible for diplomacy to play an important part in the election, to an even greater extent than was usually the case. It is to be ascribed to the confusion and the obstacles which were constantly being raised in this way that the Papal throne remained unoccupied for more than four months. The Cardinals were divided into three almost equal parties. The French interests were under the skilful direction of Cardinals Ippolito d'Este of Ferrara and Louis de Guise, and were represented by Cardinals Tournon, du Bellay, Armagnac, Lenoncourt, Bertrand and Strozzi; the Italians Pisani, Cesi, Cristoforo del Monte, Simoncelli and Sermoneta for the most part adhered to this party, and to a less reliable degree, Crispi, Capodiferro and Dandino. To these sixteen French partisans were opposed seventeen adherents of Spain. Their leader was Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, as well as the Bishop of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo. These two were followed by Truchsess, Cueva, Pacheco, Carpi, Morone, Puteo, Ricci, Corgna, Mercurio, Cornaro, Cicada, Saraceni, Medici, Gonzaga and Rovere.

According to the person put forward as candidate, these party relations were more or less altered, but each of the two parties was strong enough to prevent the election of an undesirable candidate, although neither could of itself produce the necessary majority of two-thirds of the votes. The decision lay therefore with a third party, that of Cardinal Carlo Carafa. The thirteen Cardinals created by the deceased Pope, with the exception of Strozzi and Bertrand, all belonged to it, that is to say, the two relatives of Paul IV, Alfonso and Diomede Carafa, the three members of religious orders in the Sacred College, the Dominican Ghislieri, the Franciscan Dolera, and the Theatine Scotti, and, in addition, Rebiba, Capizuchi, Reumano, Gaddi and Vitelli. All these were thoroughly ecclesiastically-minded men, which made it all the more surprising that they should have allied themselves to such an unworthy person as Carlo Carafa. The party of the Carafa was also soon strengthened by Alessandro Farnese and his three adherents, his brother Ranuccio Farnese, Savelli and Innocenzo del Monte.

A letter written in October, 1559, by the Duke of Paliano, is characteristic of the position of the Carafa family at the election. "It is not of the least consequence," writes Giovanni Carafa to his brother, "who will be Pope, the only thing that is of importance is that he who is chosen should realize that he owes the dignity to the Carafa. This house does not enjoy any favour with the Spanish or French kings, and everything therefore depends on securing the favour of the future Pope, as otherwise the ruin of the family is assured." Carlo Carafa had completely broken with the French at the beginning of the conclave, and was inclined to favour the Spaniards. He, as well as his nephew, the Cardinal of Naples, entered the conclave with the idea of voting for Carpi, or, should his election prove impossible, for Gonzaga. As a reward for his services in the conclave Carlo Carafa expected to receive from Philip II an Italian principality, which would compensate his family for the forfeited Paliano.

Carafa's chief adviser was Alessandro Farnese, who had already taken part in three conclaves, and had acquired a great deal of experience. Even before the death of Paul IV, Carafa had addressed himself to Farnese, from Civita Lavinia, his place of banishment, and placed himself and the thirteen votes of the Cardinals created by the late Pope at his disposal for the approaching conclave; with their united efforts they intended to elevate a Cardinal who would show himself grateful to the houses of Farnese and Carafa for his election. Farnese did not appear to take a prominent part in the conclave, but in spite of this, his influence as an adviser seems to have been very important, and it was especially he who "with incredible skill and trouble" held the Carafa party together at a critical moment.

Among the forty electors who entered the conclave on September 5th, only eleven favoured the French. The opposing party therefore thought to make use of their majority at once on the evening of the following day, by electing Cardinal Carpi as Pope, by paying him general homage and without having recourse to formal voting, thus bringing the conclave to a speedy conclusion. This plan came to nothing owing to the disunion of the Spanish party. Their leader, Sforza, was secretly opposed to Carpi, even though he was the principal candidate of the Spaniards, and had allowed himself to be drawn into a secret agreement by Este, by which he promised to prevent Carpi's election, while Este was to work on behalf of Medici or Gonzaga, who both also belonged to the Spanish party.

The attempt, therefore, to elevate Carpi suddenly was bound to be unsuccessful, and they had to content themselves with allowing the conclave to proceed in the usual manner. The customary election capitulation was drawn up and read aloud on the evening of September 8th. It contained, besides the declarations constantly recurring in such documents, distinct allusions to the pontificate of the late Pope. The Cardinals, accordingly, had to swear that they would undertake no war, and that they would punish in a fitting manner the outbreaks which had taken place while the proceedings in connection with the vacancy in the Papal throne were being conducted. The reform of the Church and the Curia, as well as the carrying on of the Council, was also earnestly enjoined on the Cardinal who should be elected. On September 9th the bull of Julius II was sworn to.

On the same day the voting began, but at first, at any rate, was not taken seriously. Este wrote on the 9th that they were not as yet thinking seriously of getting a Pope elected, and that there was hardly anyone as yet who would allow himself to be voted for. The want of unanimity and decision in the conclave was so great that a large number of aspirants, some twenty or more, could flatter themselves with hopes of receiving the tiara. The Spanish party also thought it well to wait for further indications of the wishes of Philip II. It therefore frequently happened in the early days of the conclave that a considerable number of votes were given to a Cardinal whom no one seriously wished to become Pope, for the sole purpose of showing him honour. On September 10th Cueva received seventeen votes, on the 13th Lenoncourt had eighteen, on the 14th the Cardinal-Infante of Portugal had fifteen and five accessits. In the case of Cueva they very narrowly escaped an unpleasant surprise. The Imperial ambassador had been collecting votes for him, so that at length thirty-two Cardinals had given him their promise as a joke, and without realizing the importance of their action. Cueva would have been elected Pope, against the will of the whole conclave, had not a fortunate chance revealed the mistake shortly before the decisive moment. There was great excitement during the night of September 24th when a similar danger came to light. Cornaro had obtained for his uncle, Pisani, the only Cardinal of Leo X who was still alive, the votes of thirty-seven electors, though, when the matter threatened to become serious, they withdrew their promises.

Several more seriously intended attempts and proposals were made during the first weeks of the conclave by the Spanish party, but their very endeavours clearly showed to what straits they were reduced in order to find a candidate against whom no objection could be raised. At the beginning of the voting Pacheco was the most prominent, having received fifteen votes at the first scrutiny and a still greater number after September 22nd. Pacheco, however, was a Spaniard, and the Italian Cardinals did not wish for him as Pope on that account. After him Puteo received most votes in the early days, but he had, as later events showed, the powerful party of the Carafa against him. Carpi, after the futile attempt of September 6th, fell into the background at the scrutinies in a marked way, so that of the Spanish candidates there only remained Medici, whom Duke Cosimo repeatedly and emphatically described as the only possible candidate. Since 1556 he had had the election of this man, in whom he hoped to find an accommodating tool for his political plans, in view, and had been secretly working for him, and now he championed him almost too openly. Medici was supported by Philip II, the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, also showing

herself, against all expectations, to be well disposed towards him. In the conclave Farnese and the Carafa favoured him, while the French had no objection to his being elected. From the very beginning of the election proceedings, Medici was treated by his colleagues with such distinction that his elevation to the Papal throne was expected on the evening of September 9th, but he had a dangerous opponent in the powerful and cunning Este, who distrusted him on account of his favourable prospects, and who would not renounce his own candidature, however unlikely it may have appeared; his aim was to prolong the conclave, the better to gain time for his intrigues. On September 16th and the following Sunday there was active canvassing for Medici. In order to bring pressure to bear on Este in favour of Medici, Farnese acted as though he wished to support Carpi, his most dreaded opponent. Consequently Carpi, who in the first week of the conclave had managed to get at most five or six votes, received all of a sudden fourteen and sixteen. On the afternoon of September 20th it was generally believed that the idea of his elevation by general homage was really intended, many of the Cardinals assembling together, as if with this purpose, in the Pauline Chapel. His opponents, however, were also present, and persisted in remaining far into the night, so that Carpi's favourable prospects again disappeared.

The Spaniards, however, could not this time put forward their most able man, Morone. As was currently reported in Rome, the Cardinals in the conclave had once more investigated Morone's case, and this had resulted in an acquittal. When, on the suggestion of Carafa, Vitelli allowed himself to raise an objection, saying that he had on the preceding day carefully studied Morone's case and had found many remarkable things in it, he received a sharp answer from Carpi, in which he was supported by Gonzaga. Morone, nevertheless, resolved to make a declaration to the College of Cardinals on September 17th, through the Dean, du Bellay, thanking them for their decision in his case, and for their efforts on his behalf with Paul IV and the princes. As, however, several persons were not willing to see him take part in the election, he begged them to permit him to withdraw from the conclave. Du Bellay would not grant this request, and as the majority of the Cardinals persisted in their decision of acquittal, Morone withdrew his proposal; this unselfishness on his part did not fail to increase the esteem in which he was held.

After the endeavours of the Spanish party had proved unavailing, the French made an attempt to elevate the esteemed and generally respected Cardinal Tournon. It is true that the Italians did not wish for a Frenchman, but many promised a vote of honour, and therefore Tournon received, for the scrutiny of September 22nd, a definite promise from some twenty-eight Cardinals and a conditional one from about four others. Then they thought of the plan of only naming Tournon on twenty-four voting papers, after which the remainder of his friends, as if suddenly inspired, were to agree to the election, and thereby carry other Cardinals with them. The votes which were still wanting to make up the necessary thirty-one were to be supplied by those who had only promised their help in case of need. The only thing that brought this cleverly thoughtout plan to grief was the fact that it had come to the ears of Carafa. In order to frustrate it he caused the rumour to be spread about that he and his whole party would also vote for Tournon. The consequence was that many of those who esteemed Tournon, but, nevertheless, did not wish to see him Pope, now drew back. Only fifteen voting papers contained his name, and it did not help matters when, in



accordance with the previous arrangement, du Bellay, Armagnac, Crispi, Strozzi and an unknown voter subsequently declared themselves for him. No one dared to do anything further for Tournon, for fear of driving Carafa to declare himself for Pacheco, who in the same scrutiny had received eighteen votes and one accessit. This very excited session had only proved that the French were as little able as the Spaniards to elect a Pope by their own power. Nothing could now be done but to make the election possible by an arrangement between the two parties ; the former alliance between Este and Sforza now had to come into force.

After the vain attempt in favour of Tournon, the two leaders of the French party, Este and Guise, held a conference with du Bellay and Tournon, and it seemed to them as if Gonzaga were the man most likely to unite the votes of the French and Spaniards upon himself. The Cardinal of Mantua was outwardly supposed to be a member of the Spanish party, but he had also been designated as an acceptable candidate by the French king. After consulting together for several days the leaders of the French party went to Sforza on September 25th and begged him to propose a Cardinal from his party for election. Sforza in his turn named Gonzaga. To attempt, however, to effect his elevation in the usual manner, by secret ballot, appeared too uncertain, and it was therefore decided to summon the Cardinals immediately to the Pauline Chapel and to declare Gonzaga Pope by paying him general homage.

This attempt, undertaken with hardly any preparation, not only failed completely, but also led to a division of the Spanish party. Only nine Cardinals of that party joined the thirteen of the French assembled in the Pauline Chapel, the others declining to obey their leader Sforza. While Este, Guise, Sforza and Sermoneta were endeavouring to collect more votes, Madruzzo thought to attain their object in a simpler manner by crying out that Gonzaga was already Pope, and that he had the necessary number of votes. Only two Cardinals, however, allowed themselves to be moved by this to join Gonzaga; most of them remained inaccessible, barred in their cells till all was over. Farnese had in the meantime assembled his party in the Sistine Chapel; his brother Ranuccio, who was ill at the time, got out of bed and placed himself, wrapped in a fur mantle, at the door of the chapel, in order to let no one go over to their opponents. The exhortations of Farnese and Carafa to hold out obtained a brilliant success for their party.

In reality the attempt to elevate Gonzaga showed the disunion of the Spanish party as well as the strong cohesion of that of Carafa. Even the Frenchman, Reumano, who owed his dignity of Cardinal to Paul IV, remained loyal to Carafa, and to the threats of his indignant countrymen answered that he would rather lose the whole of his property than break his pledged word. Cardinal Vitelli made excuses to Gonzaga for having kept in the background at the elevation of a friend, by referring to the obligations which bound him to Carafa.

Very probably this attempt on behalf of Gonzaga was not seriously meant by Este. According to his agreement with Sforza, both were to take steps either for Medici or for Gonzaga. Together with Sforza, Este decided in favour of Gonzaga because the latter would probably have more difficulty than Medici, and pressed for an immediate attempt for the Cardinal of Mantua, as the candidature of the more dangerous opponent would then be almost without any prospect of success.

In spite of this first failure by Gonzaga, however, his adherents remained loyal to him. The party leaders, Este and Guise, Sforza and Madruzzo, mutually pledged themselves to vote for no one else till all hope of his success had disappeared. Even then they wished to keep together, and work in common for the election of the Pope. Farnese and Carafa, however, were just as firmly resolved on the other hand, to exclude Gonzaga from the Papacy at all costs.

Both parties were almost equally strong, and in view of the obstinacy with which they opposed one another, it seemed as if the election would be indefinitely prolonged. In the meantime Spanish diplomacy interfered in the most inconsiderate manner with the proceedings of the election, and the confusion was thus increased to the highest degree.

The Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas, had arrived in Rome on September 25th, and he presented himself before the Cardinals on the following day. In his person a diplomatist of no ordinary skill and obstinacy appeared upon the scene. It annoyed Vargas to hear in Italy that since Clement VII no staunch adherent of Charles V had ever gained the tiara, whereas, on several occasions, a Cardinal who had been excluded by the Emperor had succeeded in so doing. Vargas made up his mind that this should not be the case under Philip II, and he therefore developed a feverish activity in order to influence the election in the Spanish interest. He proceeded to do this with an incredible want of consideration. All the other ambassadors preserved at least the outward usages of decorum, but the zeal of Vargas knew no bounds. Scarcely a night passed that he did not enter the conclave by a window or a breach in the wall, in order to work on the Cardinals by promises and threats, often remaining there till daybreak. He himself wrote to the king, on November 5th, 1559, that he had taken more trouble about the conclave than in all his former missions together, and that if he did not succeed in gaining his end, he believed it would prove his death.

Vargas was not satisfied with the whole tendency and development of the proceedings so far. His opinion was that if the Cardinals who had Spanish sympathies would only unite among themselves they would not need the support of the adherents of the French party, and that it was a matter of honour on their part to bring the election to an end in the Spanish sense without the help of a person so "hated by God and the Spanish king as Este." The candidature of Gonzaga was also not approved of by Vargas, because it was a principle of Spanish policy that scions of Italian princely families should be kept from the tiara, so as not to endanger the peace of Italy, and for the same reason he was at first opposed to Medici, as being a dependent of Cosimo I.

At his first conference with Sforza, during the night of September 27th, Vargas put forward his views with great emphasis. In reply to his misgivings about Gonzaga, Sforza said that his candidature had no prospects of success, but that they must nevertheless appear to support him. It was indeed a fact that neither Vargas nor Sforza dared openly to oppose a member of the powerful princely house of Mantua. Sforza appeared to be ready to enter into the alliance proposed by Vargas, and during the night of October 2nd, the three party leaders, Farnese, Carafa and Sforza held a meeting, at which they were reconciled and mutually promised to work in the interests of Philip's candidate.

The Franco-Spanish alliance, the fruit of three weeks of endeavour and experience, seemed therefore to have been abandoned; the business of the election had to be undertaken once more from the very beginning, and on quite new principles. The only drawback was that these principles were not clearly established; the new party was wanting in unity. Each of the three leaders, Farnese, Sforza and Carafa, wished the election to be decided by himself alone, so that he might benefit to the fullest extent from the gratitude of the newly-elected Cardinal. It was related of Carafa that half a day before the attempted elevation of Gonzaga, he had also conceived the plan, but quite independently of the French, of taking up the cause of Gonzaga, but had immediately changed his mind on learning that others had already taken the matter in hand, so that he himself would only play a secondary part in the elevation of that Cardinal.

The new allies were not even of one mind with regard to the candidate they wished to support. In their first discussion during the night Vargas had dissuaded Sforza from assisting Carpi and Pacheco, and had recommended Puteo and Medici. At the meeting between the three leaders, however, Farnese and Carafa had definitely refused to support Puteo, and remained, as they had been before, in favour, in the first instance, of Carpi and Pacheco.

The uncertainty of the position was very much increased by the fact that when Sforza entered into this new compact he did not immediately break off his former understanding with the French. He could not very well do this, for among the adherents who had remained faithful to him at the time of the rupture in the Spanish party were many personal friends of Gonzaga, whom he dared not offend, and he was, moreover, afraid that if he deserted the French, Carafa would at once join them and bring the election to a conclusion without his help. Sforza, therefore, worked with the French for Gonzaga and with his new allies for Carpi and Pacheco, but he was not sincere with either party, and, since his double dealing could not remain concealed he lost the confidence of his own party as well as of the French. A coolness between Sforza and Vargas was also growing from day to day. Sforza, as well as Madruzzo, was justly indignant at the arrogant manner in which the ambassador sought to force his views on them. The confusion was so great, as Madruzzo wrote to Philip II on October 20th, that it could not have been worse.

In order to find a way out of this state of confusion the divided Spanish party had, above all, to become clear as to their attitude towards Gonzaga. No information on this point was to be obtained from Vargas, for his instructions on this very matter were insufficient. They had, therefore, to apply directly to the Spanish king. Towards the end of September a number of letters from Gonzaga's friends, as well as from his opponents in the Spanish party, were addressed to Spain, in order to obtain thence a decision as to this crucial question. Farnese wrote to the king that if Gonzaga became Pope, Philip could see to it that the Spaniards were not driven out of Italy. Sforza, on the other hand, complained of Farnese to the king, saying that he opposed the Cardinal of Mantua for private reasons, although he well knew the loyalty of the latter to Spain; the alliance with the French could not be evaded, and he begged Philip to order the Spanish Cardinals to support Gonzaga. He bitterly complained of the insubordination of his party and of Pacheco in particular. Pacheco, on the other hand, whom Philip had expressly designated as an acceptable candidate, made accusations against

Sforza, and said that he had left him in the lurch. Gonzaga himself sent an express messenger to Philip, but when he was in Florence he was induced by Duke Cosimo to return. Cosimo also addressed himself to the Spanish king on September 29th; he explained that a Franco-Spanish alliance was the only way of settling the election, and in order to maintain it he appeared to support Gonzaga, but in reality the only person for whom it would be possible to obtain the tiara was Medici.

Gonzaga's friends also sought to obtain letters of recommendation for him from other courts. The King of France answered in the most courteous terms, saying that if he were a Cardinal he would personally cross the Alps to be able to give his vote for Gonzaga. King Ferdinand wrote, at the request of the Duke of Mantua and the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm, to Cardinals Madruzzo, Truchsess and Morone that they should support the candidature of Gonzaga.

Considering the means of communication of that time, an answer from Spain could not be expected to arrive in Rome in less than four weeks so that, as September had passed without any result as far as the election was concerned, the like was to be expected in October. The parties, as Curzio Gonzaga wrote to Mantua on October 4th, were standing firmly opposed to one another; the business of the election could only proceed when an answer had been received from the Catholic King.

The great consideration extended to the princes gave much scandal in Rome, and indeed throughout the whole of Italy. The Conservators of the city appeared before the Cardinals on October 4th and reproached them for seeking instructions from abroad, thereby quite misunderstanding their own dignity and position. They begged them to hasten the election as much as possible, since public security in Rome was so greatly endangered by the long duration of the conclave that honest people were no longer sure of their lives. Then the Conservators endeavoured to justify the people for an occurrence which had taken place during the preceding night. The day before, some persons belonging to the French embassy had shot a gentleman-at-arms of the prefect of one of the districts in the open street because the said prefect had deprived one of their number of a prohibited weapon without regard for the French privileges. In revenge for this the people had, during the following night almost stormed and burned down the dwelling of the French ambassador. The Conservators concluded by declaring that if a Pope were not speedily given to the city they would make use of the authority to which they were entitled, and prevent the Cardinals from communicating with the outside world by letter.

The Cardinal-Dean, du Bellay, dismissed the Conservators with a sharp reproof on account of their arrogant language and the excesses of the previous night. The complaints were, however, only too well justified, and other remonstrances were not wanting regarding the general insecurity in Rome. The want of order in the conclave itself was so great that the Venetian ambassador, Mocenigo, wrote in 1560 that it was the most open and free of which there was any record. On October 2nd four Cardinals were appointed, who were to confer with the ordinary commission of Cardinals concerning a reform of the conclave. They did indeed make various regulations, but, as Bondonus says, although these

were well conceived nobody paid any attention to them. The windows and breaches in the walls by which Cardinals and conclavists communicated with the outside world were indeed closed, but were very soon opened again, and no lasting improvement of the conditions took place.

As a matter of fact, no exhortations or regulations for reform could have much success as long as the evil was not grasped at the root, and the secular princes deprived of all influence in the Papal election. Nobody, however, had the courage to take a step of such decisive importance, for the favour of so powerful a monarch as Philip II must be retained for the Church. Nothing else was therefore possible but to suffer as before the intercourse with the ambassadors, and to await with patience the decision of the Spanish king as to the candidature of Gonzaga which had been asked for.

Philip II was in no hurry with his reply. It appeared to him impossible to declare himself in favour of Gonzaga, yet to pronounce against him, the member of so highly esteemed a princely family, was both distasteful and dangerous. He therefore postponed his answer from week to week, hoping perhaps that the Cardinals would understand his silence, and at length decide as he wished without express instructions from him. This, in fact, was what actually took place.

The conclave remained for a few weeks completely undecided as to the election. As a matter of form, the daily voting took place, and Pacheco regularly received from seventeen to twenty-two votes, and Cueva from twelve to eighteen. Cardinals of whose actual elevation no one was really thinking, often received an unusual number of votes, merely as a compliment, as, for instance, Saraceni, who on October 5th and 7th had sixteen and nineteen votes, Rebiba on the 6th no less than seventeen, and Ghislieri at a later date twenty. To Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, whose name is otherwise only occasionally mentioned, twenty-one votes were given on October 13th, merely because it was the anniversary of his grandfather's election. Similar surprises occurred every day.

In the midst of the tedious monotony of the almost suspended proceedings, a little excitement was caused by a striking remark made by Cardinal Medici, who, in conversation with Cardinal Truchsess said: "As regards the Germans, we should have to summon a Council, to see if some concessions could not be made to them with regard to the marriage of priests and Communion under both kinds." Such words in the mouth of a Cardinal in whom many saw the future Pope, caused Truchsess such great scandal that he considered it his duty to bring it to the notice of the electors, and as it gave rise to considerable comment, he drew up a written report of his conversation with Medici on October 13th and another in November. The whole affair, however, injured the Cardinal of Augsberg rather than the reputation of Medici.

The weary waiting for a reply from Philip at length seemed to the Cardinals a burden too great to be borne. The patience of the hot-blooded Carafa was the first to give way; he feared that his adherents might not, in the end, withstand the temptations of the opposite party during this long delay. On October nth, he declared to Cardinal Sforza that if he did not break off his alliance with the Spaniards within four days, he would himself separate from him, and, in conjunction with the French, raise Cardinal Tournon to the Papal throne; he

could easily bring about this result with the seventeen votes of which he had command and those of the French. Sforza begged for a delay until October 17th, and this Carafa allowed him.

In the face of this threat, Vargas thought that he ought to delay no longer in taking a definite step against Gonzaga, and he therefore wrote to Madruzzo, the special friend of the latter, saying that it would be as well to refrain from supporting Gonzaga any longer, as, under the present circumstances there was no hope of his candidature being successful.

Madruzzo, however, would not give up the support of Gonzaga. He answered the ambassador by saying that he could not understand how he could express himself in such terms about so good a friend of Spain; at the same time he wrote to Philip II that the Cardinal of Mantua deserved the Papacy a hundred times, and that he could be of more use to the world as Pope than all the others together.

The rest of the Spanish supporters of Gonzaga had pledged themselves, with Sforza, to wait until October 17th for the courier from Spain, and on that day they extended the period by yet another eight or ten days. Sforza only gave way to the importunity of Carafa to the extent that he did not renew the promise of his friends, as far as he himself was concerned.

This slight concession naturally did not satisfy Carafa. He now approached the French who, at his overtures, at once despatched a courier to the French king; the hostility of Carafa towards Sforza in the meantime increased from "hour to hour." He complained to Vargas that Sforza was his enemy, and wished to destroy him and his house; the King of Spain would sacrifice the Carafa without scruple to please a Pope elected according to the proposals of Sforza. He would therefore support Farnese, as he had promised, and repudiate Gonzaga, and for the rest, in spite of his earnest desire to serve Philip, he would adopt a neutral attitude between the parties. The ambassador sought to dissuade him, but in vain; Carafa adhered to his resolution. Este was jubilant at this success; he now threw off his mask, canvassed for votes for himself, made extensive offers and promises, as was his wont, and gained ground hour to hour.

Such was the position of affairs when at last, on October 27th, a letter from King Philip arrived. It bore the dates of October 8th and 9th, and contained nothing concerning Gonzaga's candidature, but, instead, news which could not have arrived more inopportunately for Vargas. With regard to the dispute concerning the possession of Paliano, which was still going on, Philip chose just this moment to come to the decision that Paliano should be restored to its former owner, Marcantonio Colonna; not a syllable as to any indemnification for the Carafa was to be found in the letter. Vargas naturally endeavoured to keep this unlucky news secret, but the courier was aware of the orders which he had brought and informed everybody of the interesting news. Carafa was almost in despair. He complained aloud that the king thought nothing of him, that he was insulting him at the very moment he was rendering him a great service. Vargas was likewise in great perplexity. He took the greatest pains in personal conversation, and also through the intervention of friends, either to deny the contents of the dispatch entirely, or to represent the order as being founded on

suppositions which were now obsolete. As Carafa, who had to assist so many of his adherents, was in pecuniary difficulties, Vargas, “as a kind friend” felt moved to offer him from 2000 to 3000 scudi, while the Viceroy of Naples, at the instigation of Vargas, sent an order for 4000 scudi; which he, again purely out of “friendship” wished to lend the Cardinal. Carafa accepted these gifts, and, naturally, could not immediately separate himself from Spain.

Cardinal Sforza criticised Vargas’ procedure at this time very sharply in a letter to the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, Ascanio Caracciolo. He would appeal to the king, as judge between himself and Vargas, writes the leader of the Spanish party. It was really too disgraceful that they should have to try to gain their ends by offers of money. They could have been just as successful without bribes, and without acting in any way contrary to the king’s wishes, as by making use of such means. Carafa was not by any means an important person; it would have been of far greater importance to keep on good terms with the influential Gonzaga than to gain over Carafa, without any advantage to themselves, and by such disgraceful measures. Moreover, according to Duke Cosimo’s opinion, Este, not Carafa, was the person about whom they ought to trouble themselves. Should they succeed in inducing the former to give up his hopes of the tiara, then affairs would come right of themselves; on the other hand, if they could not succeed in doing this, then they were only pouring water into a sieve.

In reality, however, whether he wished it or not, Carafa was obliged to keep in with Spain, because it was only from Philip that he could expect an Italian principality, and not from the French, who had no power in Italy; it was also very doubtful if Carafa’s whole party would join him in throwing themselves into the hands of the French.

The decision of Philip II regarding the possession of Paliano had shown that he was of the same opinion as Sforza and the Duke of Florence with regard to the importance of Carafa, and Vargas’ report from Rome did not succeed in making him change his mind. To the oft-repeated request of the ambassador that Philip would authorize him to make promises to Carafa, he answered nothing further on October 26th than to say that the former pension of 12,000 scudi<sup>5</sup> granted to Carafa should be continued.

Several days before, on October 20th, Philip had finally given his decision with regard to the candidature of Gonzaga for the Papacy. It was to the effect that the election of the Cardinal of Mantua was at all costs to be prevented. The ambassador, however, was to let no one know this, though, in case of extreme need, he might inform Sforza. In other respects, however, Vargas was to show himself very attentive to Gonzaga, and to assure him of Philip’s great esteem. The king, moreover, was not wanting himself in fair words. He regretted to learn, he wrote to the Duke of Mantua, that his ambassador should have shown such opposition to Cardinal Gonzaga; he could not, indeed, order anyone to vote for him, but should he be elected it would give him great pleasure.

While Philip was proceeding with the greatest caution with regard to the influential Gonzaga, his ambassador was acting less guardedly in Rome. In a second letter, of October 27th, the king had again referred to Gonzaga’s exclusion, but this time without renewing the order to work secretly towards this end. It

happened, by accident, that this second letter was the first to reach Rome, the first, that of October 20th, only arriving on November 19th, while the second was received as early as the 11th. Vargas was extremely glad at the arrival of this message, the coming of which had been already announced from Mantua and Florence. The news caused the greatest excitement in the conclave. During the night of November 12th, Vargas arranged with Sforza that Gonzaga must be informed of Philip's decision, so that he might give up all further attempts to obtain the tiara. This, however, was by no means in accordance with Philip's wishes, and he afterwards sharply reprimanded Vargas for having, by his want of prudence and lack of diplomacy, left him to contend with the whole of Italy, while there was no end to the complaints which Gonzaga himself and his relatives, the Dukes of Mantua and Urbino, had addressed to him concerning his ambassador.

Gonzaga, wearied by the long waiting for Philip's answer, had himself withdrawn his candidature a few days previously, on November 8th, though without the secret endeavours on his behalf having in the meantime come to an end, although now the hopes of his friends naturally sank very considerably. Gonzaga received Sforza's communication with calmness and dignity; the manner, too, in which he had a short time before, made his renunciation of his candidature before the Cardinals, was calculated to raise him in everybody's esteem.

Vargas' plans seemed to have been crowned with success by the retirement of Gonzaga. Sforza had broken with the French, and the unity of the Spanish party had been outwardly restored. The Spaniards could now set to work with reunited forces to secure victory for a candidate of their own. On November 14th they agreed to make an attempt next with Carpi's candidature, and proceeded to do so at once. The French, however, proved to be so exceedingly opposed to this plan, that Carafa, with Madruzzo, Farnese and Sforza, told them, on November 19th, that any further attempts would prove fruitless. Carpi received this announcement "like a saint"; they must not delay the conclave on his account, he said, he did not wish to stand in the way of the most worthy man.

In Vargas' opinion, the Spaniards should now have concentrated on Pacheco. They were, however, unable to do so, for, in the meantime, the unity of the Spanish leaders, which had only been maintained with considerable difficulty, was again broken by the withdrawal of Carpi.

During the night of November 12th, when Sforza was informed of the exclusion of Gonzaga, a discussion had also taken place between the Spanish ambassador and Carafa, during which Vargas showed the Cardinal a letter in which Philip spoke of the latter with great appreciation, and assured him of the continuance of the pension of 12,000 scudi which had been previously granted him. Carafa had answered that he wished for something more; on account of the honour of his house, he expected from the king the title of prince for his brother. Vargas could only reassure him by enlarging on the magnanimity and generosity of his master, "a half word from whom was of greater value than all the promises and assurances of other princes." Soon afterwards, in order to offer an equivalent to the offers of the French, he made Carafa general assurances and promises, and finally, after repeated deliberations with the most important members of the Spanish party, he had recourse to the grave measure of exceeding his authority



and giving Carafa a written promise of the desired reward. At the same time, however, he impressed upon him that it would prove far more advantageous for him to leave everything to the royal generosity of Philip.

All these efforts, however, were in vain. The French were actively soliciting the friendship of Carafa at the same time as Vargas, and their leader, Este, was, as described by Philip's ambassador, the most formidable opponent in negotiations of that kind, that had ever been seen. The French, moreover, did not need to limit themselves to vague promises with little security behind them. Catherine de' Medici had, at their request, addressed a flattering letter to Carafa in which she expressly assured him that all promises made to him and his house would be certain to obtain the approval of the French court. Catherine's letter arrived about the same time as that of the Spanish king. Carafa, therefore, declared to the French that he was for the moment bound by his promise for Carpi; on the very day, however, that Carpi withdrew from his candidature he would retire from his adherence to the Spanish party. On the night of November 26th he made a detailed declaration to this effect before Pacheco, Madruzzo, Farnese and Sforza, and repeated it even more fully on the following night in the presence of Vargas. Now as before, he assured them, his own wishes led him to serve the Spanish king; he would, however, pledge himself to nothing, and would not be bound by any exclusion on the part of the powers, but would give his vote to the candidate who, in his opinion, was the best for Spain. Carafa, therefore, did not dare to break completely with his former friends; indeed he complained that Sforza no longer invited him to the meetings of the Spanish party. He wished to make the Spaniards realize the value of his friendship by his separation from them. Should the king really prove unwilling to grant Carafa's wishes after this experience, then he intended to go over entirely to the side of the French, and with their assistance to elevate a Cardinal from whom he might hope for something for his house. He had Carpi, Reumano and Dolera in view. It also pleased him to be regarded by both Spaniards and French as the arbiter of the conclave and to be paid court to by them; at this time he was filled with such arrogance that people hardly ventured to address him.

It was true that Carafa now had the election in his hand; to whichever side he, with the sixteen votes of his party of firm adherents should incline, there it seemed that the decisive power must lie.

The altered state of affairs found expression in the fact that the candidates of the French party now seemed to come into prominence in the conclave, while previously there had only been question of the endeavours of the Spaniards on behalf of the Cardinals who were agreeable to them. Gonzaga's adherents took fresh courage, while Este, in particular, thought that his own time had come. On the evening of November 30th he wished homage to be paid to him as Pope. Great excitement thereupon arose in the conclave; only Sforza remained calm and made reply to the agitated Carpi that there was a great deal of noise, but that the danger was, nevertheless, very slight, and that Vargas would be able to write to Philip II that he had averted a great danger. According to Vargas' report, Sforza and the others were half dead from fear; nobody had attempted any resistance until, in answer to his entreaties and appeals, Este's opponents had again pulled themselves together. Vargas remained standing half the night at a breach in the wall of the conclave; they were pursuing a false course, he called out to the

Cardinals, if they flattered themselves by remembering that Charles V had shown the greatest favour to the very men who had formerly been his opponents, but that now they were living in a new world. Should Este become Pope, then war, vexation and schism would be inevitable, as he was openly purchasing the tiara in the most shameful manner.

It is probable, however, that Carafa had only supported Este in this attempt in the hope that thereby Sforza would be forced to the election of Este's rival, Carpi. As several who had at first promised Este their votes did not now keep their word, Carafa also drew back, so that the Cardinal of Ferrara had far less than the required number of votes. His friends, however, did not relax their efforts on his behalf, and Este spoke to Duke Cosimo of Florence as late as December 3rd in very optimistic terms about his election. He only really abandoned hope in the concluding days of the conclave.

The principal reason why Este could no longer put off his open canvassing for the tiara was that his two most zealous adherents, Cardinals Capodiferro and Dandino, were sick unto death and were given up by the physicians. Many other Cardinals were also seriously threatened in their health by the long confinement in the bad air of a closed apartment, over crowded with people. The consequences of the long vacancy were also every day making themselves more unpleasantly felt outside the conclave. The scarcity in the city was constantly increasing, while disputes were now settled by the sword instead of by proper legal means. General indignation prevailed at the delay in the election. On November 12th the treasurers informed the Cardinals that they could raise no more money to pay the troops. The number of soldiers was then reduced, but the officials of the Apostolic Camera soon complained that the money was not sufficient even for the reduced number. It caused a great sensation when several Protestants from Carinthia and Switzerland took advantage of the prevailing lawlessness to steal into the city in monks' habits and to disseminate their doctrines in sermons and disputations. The Romans felt that their honour was attacked by this occurrence, when it was reported that the foreign preachers had explained that the destruction of the buildings of the Inquisition, at the death of Paul IV, was a sign that there existed leanings towards the false doctrines among the Roman people. They loudly called for the intruders to be handed over to the people for judgment, so that they might vindicate their orthodoxy.

There was no lack of exhortations to the Cardinals to come to a decision at last. Cardinal Cueva, for example, made an earnest speech on November 12th, immediately after the voting, in which he laid stress on the disastrous consequences of the dragging on of the conclave. The Conservators of the city again made their appearance and renewed their former complaints on November 27th. On this occasion they were listened to to such an extent that some eighty, or according to another report, as many as a hundred and twenty conclavists were expelled from the enclosure. On November 3th Fabio oCordelia, a Doctor of Law, was appointed Master of the Conclave; he had to see that the order for reform with regard to the meals of the Cardinals did not remain a dead letter. To the Governor of the Borgo was assigned the duty of seeing that all the rooms adjoining or underneath the conclave were kept closed, so that communication with outside might be lessened.

Representatives of foreign princes frequently appeared before the conclave to urge speed in the election. The ambassador of the King of France thus appeared on November 14th, and on the 25th the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm. Vargas had already, on September 27th and again on October 13th, addressed the Cardinal in carefully prepared speeches, while on December 8th he reappeared before them with a letter from his king,<sup>8</sup> and admonished them anew as to the necessity of concluding the election at the earliest possible moment. The Cardinal Dean, du Bellay, answered him, and took the opportunity of including several unpleasant truths in his remarks. He drew attention to the fact that the cause of the delay was to be attributed, for the most part, to the unjustifiable influence which was being exercised from outside; as soon, he continued, as the Cardinals were allowed full liberty, the election would quickly be settled, but that it was quite useless to exhort the Cardinals in public to the greatest possible haste, and then in secret to do everything possible to drag on the election to an interminable length.

Du Bellay had given utterance to these hints in a rather irritated manner, and Vargas, therefore, naturally endeavoured, with the support of Pacheco and Farnese, to defend his sovereign from all shadow of blame. To this defence du Bellay answered that the Cardinals who were unwilling to obey orders were threatened on the part of the Spanish court with the loss of their revenues, whereupon Pacheco twice called out in a loud voice that this was not true. Then followed the delivery of the royal message, which was drawn up in dignified terms. The king, it was stated, did not wish to interfere in the election in any way likely to hinder it; it was not his business to lay down rules to the Cardinals for the election; they must only keep in view the service of God, and choose, without any consideration for him, the candidate most likely to be useful in the present parlous condition of the Church. Du Bellay answered Vargas' defence in courteous terms, but did not fail to express the hope that deeds might correspond to words. Farnese, on the other hand, declared that Philip's conduct required no justification, and that du Bellay had not, in the closing words of his speech, spoken in the sense of the whole Sacred College.

On the same day, December 8th, on which Vargas delivered this message, the French made an attempt to elevate Reumano to the Papal throne. A little time before they had been working for Tournon, while Cesi and Pisani had also been spoken of about the same time. None of these, however, had any prospect of success. The candidature of a native of France, as both Reumano and Tournon were, was exceedingly unpopular with the people of Rome. The days of Avignon had not yet been forgotten, and it was feared that a Frenchman might remove the seat of the Papacy from Rome. When a rumour got abroad on the night of December 8th, that Reumano had nearly been elected, the people rushed to the Capitol and threatened to ring the tocsin, and quiet was not restored till news arrived that Reumano would not be elected: The French candidates also met with enemies within their own party. Este had not yet given up his own hopes and was secretly working against his own party. Carafa, too, was now only apparently on the side of the French, but in reality he had again been approached by the Spaniards, and had gone over to them.

Vargas, to whom the friendship of Carafa meant everything, was now awaiting, with the greatest anxiety, the royal confirmation of the extensive

promises which he had taken upon himself upon his own responsibility, to make to Carafa. When no such authority had arrived by the beginning of December, and a complete breaking away on the part of Carafa seemed imminent, he thought that he might venture to do independently what he believed had only been omitted in Spain through a failure to understand the real state of affairs. He therefore drew up a document making extensive concessions to Carafa, and communicated the contents to the ambitious Cardinal, as having been really written by Phillip. Carafa was at once won over to Philip's side, although he declared that he could not immediately pass over to the Spanish party, but must wait for a fitting opportunity.

Carafa was, however, soon forced to throw off the mask by the force of circumstances. The French had been planning the election of Gonzaga since the beginning of December. Carafa had promised Cardinals Guise, Este and Madruzzo, even before the attempted elevation of Reumano, to support Gonzaga with seven votes, and thereby assure his election; he requested, however, a further delay in order, in the meantime, to honour and please several of his adherents by making apparent attempts to secure their election. Finally, on December 14th, he definitely agreed to give his support to the Cardinal of Mantua. On the 13th it was generally expected in the city that, in a very short time, a decision in favour of Gonzaga would be made; Madruzzo and others had already had their silver removed from the conclave so that it might not disappear in the usual plundering after the election.

The old opponents of Gonzaga, Farnese, Sforza and the adherents of Carafa had not been idle. On the morning of the decisive day, Carafa asked for a further delay from Este and Guise until the afternoon; soon afterwards the whole conclave resounded with the cries of "Carpi! Carpi!" and the latter was proclaimed Pope by many Cardinals instead of Gonzaga. The French, however, were not unprepared. Carafa had let it be understood that he was only planning an apparent attempt on behalf of Carpi, but the French were not deceived; they had, in any case, a more than sufficient number of votes ready for the exclusion of Carpi. They assembled in a compact body in the Sistine Chapel and mocked at Carafa's vain efforts. On the following night there arose a heated altercation between Carafa and Guise, and Carafa entered into a formal alliance with Sforza, backed up by his signature, by which the two party leaders promised to work in union with each other, and Carafa agreed that he would no longer promote the election of the Cardinals excluded by Philip; he also gave the French a plain refusal to work with them.

After the defeat of Gonzaga, the French took up the cause of the aged Pisani; the Spaniards, on the other hand, were most anxious to attempt the elevation of Pacheco, for Philip had written, as early as October 27th, that he would prefer him to anyone else. Full of hope, therefore, they met together for the voting on the morning of December 18th. As Capodiferro and Dandino were dead, and du Bellay had left the conclave on account of illness, the French party had only thirteen Cardinals left, and were no longer of themselves capable of excluding Pacheco. The Spaniards, moreover, had succeeded in getting so many votes for him, that they believed they had one or two more than the necessary number.

In order that no one should prove unfaithful in secret to the Spanish candidate, Carafa proposed at the beginning of the scrutiny that the votes should be given in an unusual and open form. Displeased at this suggestion, the acting dean, Tournon, declared that such a course would be uncanonical and would invalidate the election. Farnese, however, at once replied that nothing but unanimity among the Cardinals was required for a Papal election, and that it was of no importance in what manner that was secured.

Carpi then rose to put an end to the discussion and praised the merits of Pacheco in the most glowing terms, then noisily overturning the table which stood before him, he went up to the latter and greeted him as Pope by kissing his foot. Carafa, Sforza, Farnese and many others followed him; the sick Cardinals, Ghislieri and Saraceni, also came from their cells, led by Alfonso Carafa, to strengthen Pacheco's party. Even a Frenchman, Cardinal Reumano, took part in this rendering of homage, and when he was asked why he gave his vote to a man who had lately refused to give him his, he replied: "Pacheco acted quite rightly in not supporting a man who was unworthy, whereas he had no reason for refusing his vote on that account to one who was worthy." Savelli, on the other hand, took no part in this paying of homage, as he thought it was unfitting for a Roman to assist in elevating a foreigner without necessity.

In the meantime a loud knocking was heard at the door of the conclave; it was said that Cardinal du Bellay had come back and was demanding admission. This was, however, only an unworthy and quite unnecessary attempt to disturb the election, for when Pacheco's adherents were counted, they were found to number only twenty-seven, three votes being still wanting for the necessary majority of two-thirds. Four Cardinals, on whom the Spaniards had counted with certainty, Corgna, Mercurio, Cornaro and Savelli, withdrew at the critical moment. Vargas was especially angry with Corgna, as he believed that if he had voted for Pacheco, the others would certainly have followed him. Corgna thought it necessary to justify his and Mercurio's attitude towards the election of Pacheco, in a letter to Philip II.

In the afternoon they again tried to elevate Pacheco by a general act of homage, but this time the number of votes was less than in the morning. His adherents, however, did not give up hope. Vargas, at the suggestion of Sforza and Farnese, endeavoured during the night to win back Mercurio to the Spanish party. Then Guise hurried on to the scene and reprimanded the ambassador for interfering in the election. A long altercation, kept indeed within the bounds of courtesy, now took place between the two, owing to which Vargas' attempts to win over Mercurio were seriously hampered. When the ambassador had retired, Guise sent for a workman and had the opening in the wall by which Vargas was in the habit of communicating with the Cardinals walled up.

Vargas' endeavours also proved vain in other directions. The last hopes of the Spanish party of being able to decide upon a Pope of themselves, and by their own power, was shipwrecked with the failure of the candidature of Pacheco. It had become clear that the only way of reaching a decision was by coming to an understanding with the French. By this time most of the Cardinals were so weary of the whole affair that, as Vargas said, they would have elected a piece of wood as Pope, if only to bring matters to an end. On December 22nd and the following

days the leaders of the Spanish and French parties arranged meetings in order to agree upon a common candidate. The decision soon lay only between Cesi, who had hitherto not been proposed or rejected, and that Cardinal whom the far-seeing had from the first looked upon as the only possible Pope, Medici.

We possess exact details of the last days of the conclave from the pen of Panvinio, who was present at the actual election as an eyewitness, and who also reports as to other matters as the result of exhaustive enquiries. At the beginning of the conclave Cardinal Diomede Carafa had asked Farnese to allow Panvinio to act as his conclavist; Farnese, however, was of the same opinion as many others, and believed that the conclave would last such a short time that it was hardly worth Panvinio's while to allow himself to be shut up there. When Christmas, however, was approaching, and many confessors were summoned to the conclave in preparation for the feast, Farnese arranged that Panvinio should also come in on December 24th.

Panvinio found the Cardinals by no means in expectation of an election. Carpi, whom he visited first of all, said to him that if a Pope were not elected on that day or the next, he very much feared that the conclave might last for another six months. The negotiations of the party leaders had by this time brought about the result that the decision now lay between Cesi and Medici, but in other respects very great difficulties lay in the way of both of them. The Spaniards were on the side of Medici, while the French were more inclined to Cesi, although they were not actually averse to Medici. Carafa's party could not agree among themselves; the influential Cardinal Vitelli was decidedly in favour of Medici, while the Cardinal of Naples was against him and for Cesi; Carafa himself was undecided

When Panvinio visited various Cardinals on the afternoon of the following day, the feast of Christmas, the position was considerably altered. Madruzzo and Truchsess regarded the election of Medici, with which they were not particularly pleased, as being practically certain, Cesi being no longer spoken of. Panvinio believed, nevertheless, that the election would still take some time, and in the evening begged Cardinal Farnese to allow him to go into the city. Farnese, however, encouraged him to remain, as he thought the election was actually impending.

Affairs had almost suddenly taken a turn. On December 21st it had been seriously debated whether the conclave should not be dissolved before Christmas and only resumed after the Epiphany, but as early as the following day the decisive moment was approaching. After dinner Carafa and Vitelli accidentally met Cardinal Guise, and a conversation ensued during the course of which Guise at last asked Carafa why the election was being postponed, to which the other replied that it was not his fault. Then Guise made the remark that as far as he was concerned, who was soon leaving Rome, it was immaterial who was Pope, provided that the Cardinal elected was fitted for the position; as, however, the candidates proposed by the French had been rejected, the honour of his nation made it necessary that they should not accept the candidates of the Spaniards, but must give their votes to someone else. In saying this Guise had clearly indicated Cesi, who had, hitherto, neither been seriously proposed nor rejected. Vitelli thereupon remarked that it was not right to reject a worthy candidate on such grounds, as it was of no consequence to which party he belonged as long as

he was worthy. Guise answered that he quite understood the meaning of this rejoinder: Vitelli intended by what he said to recommend Medici. He on his side, and as a proof of his good will, would propose two candidates on the part of the French, Cesi and Medici. Let them select one of these two, and the French would vote for him. At the same time, Guise added a condition to this promise: Alfonso Carafa must also give his approval to the candidate upon whom his uncle should decide. Alfonso had previously played no important part in the conclave; it was only when Carlo Carafa had made himself unpopular with his own party, by his perpetual hesitation, that Alfonso had risen in the esteem of his adherents.

It was easy to tell in what manner the decision between Medici and Cesi would be made. Cesi was thought to have French leanings, and this recommended him to the Cardinals as little as the fact that he was not particularly agreeable to the Spanish king. The case was different with Medici. It is true that he had so far come into very little prominence in the conclave; he had been unwell when he arrived and he had been confined to his bed almost ever since. He received but few votes in the scrutinies, and none of the influential Cardinals showed any particular wish for his election. On the other hand it was very greatly in his favour that he was regarded as an acceptable candidate at both the French and Spanish courts, and, finally, his candidature was the only measure to which they could now have recourse, when all other attempts had failed. Vargas, who was one of the most important figures in the negotiations, had written, a few days after his arrival in Rome, that they might attempt the candidature of Medici when everything else had failed, but, he added, he would prefer someone else. Later on he was less guarded in his remarks<sup>1</sup> Alessandro Farnese had long ago been pledged by express promises to work for Medici; it was only to protect himself against Gonzaga that for a time he kept his wishes in abeyance and followed Carafa's lead. Sforza stood firmly on the side of Medici; as Guise and the French now also declared themselves for him, it was only necessary that Carlo and Alfonso Carafa should join his party to turn the scales.

With the assent of Guise the result of the election was, in the opinion of Vitelli, decided in Medici's favour. During the last few days Carlo Carafa had leaned strongly to his side, while Vargas and Farnese kept putting him forward as well. It was of decisive importance that Cosimo de' Medici now judged that the moment had arrived for taking definite steps in favour of his candidate. By means of Vitelli the Florentine agents caused letters to be shown to Cardinal Carlo Carafa in which Cosimo made great promises to the nephews of Paul IV. In these he said that he would endeavour to obtain for Carafa compensation from Philip II for Paliano; he also promised that he would remain neutral in the struggle going on between the Marquis Antonio Carafa and the Count of Bagno concerning Montebello, although he had hitherto been against Antonio. On the strength of these promises Carlo Carafa went over to the side of Medici.

It was more difficult for Vitelli to induce the Cardinal of Naples, Alfonso Carafa, to join the party of Medici. Alfonso was under the influence of his father, Antonio Carafa, Marquis of Montebello, who had no confidence in the promises of Cosimo, and who therefore recommended his son to support Cesi, who had been the confidential friend of the late Pope. The latter, moreover, had never cared for Medici. In addition to all this there was the decisive fact that Alfonso was not convinced of the perfect orthodoxy of Medici, in the matter of the

concessions to the Protestants. At first Vitelli, despite long discussion, could obtain no more than the promise that Alfonso would carefully consider the matter.

On the following day, as well, Vitelli accomplished nothing, and Alfonso remained firm. On the 24th the plans of Medici's friends reached the ears of his opponents, and they at once attacked Alfonso Carafa, beseeching him to separate from his uncle's party. Carlo Carafa no sooner heard of this than he rushed to his nephew and by dint of scolding, imploring and threatening him, he worked, with the support of Vitelli, on the young Cardinal of Naples in such a way that he at last agreed to remain with his party.

In the meantime the interests of Medici were being zealously promoted by the Florentine envoys. They promised in the name of the future Pope that Montebello and Paliano should be entrusted to the sequestrator of the Apostolic Camera until the settlement of the dispute, and that the Pope, in union with Duke Cosimo, would apply to Philip II in favour of Carafa. Antonio Carafa allowed himself to be won over, and now influenced his son Alfonso in the sense desired by Cosimo. By this a most important victory had been won for Medici.

On the morning of Christmas Day, Vitelli prepared himself for another attack on Alfonso Carafa. This time he laid before him a letter of recommendation of Medici which Duke Cosimo had addressed to the Cardinal of Naples two months before, but which Vitelli had intercepted and kept back. In this letter the Duke recommended his candidate with great urgency and many promises, though he did not go beyond mere generalities. When Vitelli showed his want of satisfaction with this, Cosimo's ambassador, Bartolomeo Concini, had recourse, on Vitelli's advice, to similar measures to those used by Vargas. He drew up, in the name of the Duke, a letter of four pages to Vitelli, in which a promise was made that all the possessions of the Carafa should remain under the care of the Apostolic Camera until Philip II had arranged an equivalent for them, and Fabrizio di Sangro, a conclavist of Carlo Carafa, was to repair as the ambassador of the new Pope to Madrid immediately after the election, there to work in the interests of the Carafa. It was not generally known that Philip II had already, two months previously, decided concerning Paliano in favour of the Colonna. Alfonso was now won over and agreed to the elevation of Medici. Vitelli brought the momentous news to Cardinal Guise on the afternoon of Christmas Day; thereupon the party leaders, Guise, Este, Sforza, Carlo Carafa, and Farnese held a meeting and fixed on the following morning for the election of Medici.

Medici was not fully informed of all this until his election was practically assured. Vitelli brought him the first definite news, and the affair soon became known throughout the whole conclave; the last doubt vanished when, in the evening, the Cardinal of Naples, accompanied by Vitelli, paid a visit to Medici. A general stir now sprang up in the conclave. Carpi still made some attempt to collect votes against Medici, but as he had no party leader on his side, he could not count on any success. On the other hand a long line of Cardinals streamed to Medici's cell, both before and after the evening meal; everyone wished to speak to him and to congratulate him. Vitelli came for a long consultation after Alfonso Carafa had gone, and Medici expressed a wish to see Guise or Este the same evening; he would not retire to rest before he had spoken to one of them. On



account of the interchange of compliments, however, the appearance of the two Cardinals was still delayed, which was most unpleasant for Vitelli and Medici, as they wished the election to take place immediately after the visit of the two leaders.

In the meantime various Cardinals remained standing round the cell of the chosen Cardinal until long after midnight. Panvinio also remained near at hand to watch the proceedings. As Carlo Carafa had engaged the celebrated scholar in conversation, Panvinio took the liberty of putting in a word and asking when the election would take place. At the answer, "Early tomorrow morning," Morone, who was rather surprised, asked whether they would really wait so long. Panvinio replied in the affirmative, but added politely that he really saw no reason why the election should not be made at once. Morone was of the same opinion and began to exhort the Cardinals to proceed without delay. All agreed, and only Carlo Carafa appeared to have a scruple owing to the fact that many of the Cardinals had already retired for the night. However, they sent to Guise, Sforza and Este in order to inform them of the wishes of some twelve electors assembled at Medici's cell. Guise soon came with Vitelli and entered the cell for a short conversation. In the meantime Sforza, Farnese, Este and others whom Panvinio had awakened appeared on the scene. Many had already assembled in the place of election, and Madruzzo, who was suffering acutely from gout, was carried in a chair. Medici was then led in by Alfonso Carafa and Este. The Papal throne was placed before the altar and all the Cardinals, including Medici, took their places in the usual order of rank. The conclavists crowded in and, at Panvinio's request, were allowed to remain. The acting dean, Tournon, now arose and declared that he elected Medici as Pope, the others making a similar declaration. Then the elected Cardinal was raised to the throne, and the usual homage paid to him to the great joy of all, even the sick Cardinals having themselves carried in to take part in the ceremony.

When Carlo Carafa paid homage, he begged the Pope to forgive the Roman people everything they had done against Paul IV, and the house of Carafa, as he would himself forget and forgive all these occurrences. The Pope at first refused decidedly to grant this request, as he must give an example of severity. It was only when Sforza and Farnese impetuously supported Carafa that he yielded, emphasizing the fact that he did so for the sake of Carafa, but that indemnification must be made for the damage done. He firmly refused, on the other hand, the pardon requested by Sforza for Pompeo Colonna, who had murdered his mother-in-law; the acquittal of the murderer of a relative, he declared, should not be the first act of his pontificate.

After the ceremony of paying homage was concluded, the newly-elected Pope declared, in answer to the question of Este and others, that he would take the name of Pius, because he wished to be what the name signified. The doors of the conclave had, in the meantime, been broken open, and the news of the election which had just taken place, spread rapidly through the city. On the following morning, December 26th, the election was confirmed in the usual way, by a scrutiny, and the newly-elected Pope was carried into St. Peter's, where the Cardinals again paid him homage. He then repaired to the Vatican amid such mighty cries of joy that, as Panvinio writes, one could scarcely distinguish the

thunder of the cannon, fired in honour of the occasion, from the acclamations of the people.

The election had an unpleasant sequel for Vargas. Philip II was not pleased with the over-zealous proceedings of his ambassador, nor with the means which he had employed. On January 8th, 1560, before the result of the conclave was known in Spain, the king commissioned Francisco de Mendoza to go to Rome and earnestly urge the Cardinals to hasten the election. At the same time he gave him a letter for Vargas. Shortly before the departure of Mendoza, that is on January 8th, the news of the election of Pius IV arrived, and Mendoza's journey was abandoned. The letter for Vargas, however, was still sent to Rome.

In this important letter the king first expresses his regret that in spite of the troubled state of Christendom the election of a worthy Pope had not yet taken place. It caused him great pain and sorrow that the passions and personal feelings of the Cardinals should have entailed such consequences. To combat this recourse should not have been had to such measures as gifts of money, as had been done by Vargas and the Viceroy of Naples, and just as little could the promise of indemnification for Paliano be justified. Vargas must never again make use of such means, but must rather employ such as would not jeopardize the king's good name. If Carafa was not satisfied with general promises, such as could be given without weighing on one's conscience, then the ambassador had no right to give further pledges in the name of his sovereign. God, Who knew the king's intentions, and Who had the situation in His keeping, would find a way out of the difficulty, which would be in keeping with the dignity of His service. Philip also blamed Vargas for having openly opposed Gonzaga and having thereby drawn down upon the king the enmity of the Italian princes. He complained of the divisions in the Spanish party and of the Cardinals' want of discretion in openly announcing that they were waiting for the royal courier and his decision. Finally, Philip declared his fear that the world would accuse him of having been the cause of the delay in the election; it was certainly not his wish that the Church should remain any longer without a chief pastor because of any special interests of his own. Without excluding or naming anyone, he instructed the ambassador to exhort and call upon the Cardinals in the king's name to choose a good Pope without delay, such a one as the Church needed, and who was worthy of such a high office. If they acted in this manner the king would be gracious to them, and would honour and promote them as persons who perform what is required of them for the service of God and the king. In the other case, however, the king would be compelled to act towards them in a manner that would be most unpleasant to himself.

In the instructions for Francisco de Mendoza, issued at the same time, but which were no longer in force since the election was already accomplished, the king says that he would, at any rate, prefer the exclusion of Gonzaga, but that if this could not be carried out, Vargas was to put the general interest before the private wishes of the king. A concession of such importance goes a long way to prove that Philip was in earnest in his oft repeated assurance that in the Papal election he had in view, above all things, the well-being of the Church.

Vargas answered the complaints of the king in a long letter of defence, which is expressed in rather self-assured terms, drawing attention to the fact that the

election was actually decided in the sense wished by the king, and for a Cardinal belonging to the Spanish party. If he hoped thereby to secure for himself a brilliant career he was very much mistaken. He had recommended himself very little to his sovereign by exceeding his instructions, and failing to understand his intentions. Pius IV was very indignant when Vargas informed him on December 29th of the promises which he had made to Cardinal Carafa in the name of the king, and without his authority. He had also made many enemies by his exaggerated zeal during the conclave. His position as ambassador in Rome was thus very difficult from the first.

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PIUS IV. THE BEGINNING OF HIS PONTIFICATE

Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici who was elected Pope after a conclave of three and a half months and was crowned on January 6th 1560, had not up to this time, in any respect, played an important part. He was a native of Milan, and was born there on Easter Sunday (March 31st), 1499, being the son of Bernardino de' Medici and his wife, Cecilia Serbelloni.

The Medici of Milan, who could trace their history back to the XIVth century, belonged to the less important patrician families of the capital of Lombardy. Their coat of arms was a golden ball on a red field, and they were in no way related to the celebrated family of the same name in Florence. Several members of the family practised as doctors in Milan, but most of them turned their attention to jurisprudence and practised as notaries. This was the case with Bernardino de' Medici, who, to distinguish him from the other branches of the family, was surnamed "di Nosigia," because he belonged to the parish of San Martino di Nosigia. He was known as an industrious and honourable man, who by his marriage with Cecilia Serbelloni became the father of fourteen children, of whom ten, five sons and five daughters, survived. In order to support this numerous family Bernardino de' Medici endeavoured to increase his income by the farming of the customs. After the victory of Francis I at Marignano, on September 14th, 1515, had placed Milan in the hands of the French, he lost, as an adherent of Maximilian Sforza, not only this concession, but also his whole fortune, and was, moreover, thrown into prison, from which he was only released through the intercession of a friend, Girolamo Morone. Completely broken in health by his misfortunes, Bernardino died in 1519, leaving his family in very necessitous circumstances. The eldest son, Gian Giacomo, a bold and adventurous character, who had been obliged to flee from Milan, adopted the career of arms. The second son, Gian Angelo, went to Pavia, where he at first studied medicine and philosophy, but later, following the family tradition, turned his attention to jurisprudence, which was, indeed, more suited to his temperament. The misfortunes of his father placed him in such dire need, that he was thrown on the charity of his fellow students, and was thankful, through the influence of the friend of his family, Morone, to accept a free place in the college founded by Cardinal Branda. He continued his juridical studies in the hope of succeeding in his efforts to obtain a position as notary in Milan. His manner of life, however, was completely altered by the turn of political affairs in the north of Italy.

In consequence of the capture of Milan by the Papal-Imperial army on November 19th, 1521, and the return of Francesco Sforza to his capital, everything

was changed. Better days had now come for the Medici family, while, more important still, Gian Giacomo had won the implicit confidence of the all-powerful chancellor, Morone. The reckless soldier became a tool in the hands of Morone, and as a reward for a political murder he received the fortress of Musso in feudal tenure from the Duke. In this eyrie, on the steep western bank of the Lake of Como, between Dongo and Rezzonico, of which only picturesque ruins now remain, he made the whole neighbourhood unsafe, under the pretence of fighting the French. In the confusion which prevailed in the whole district round Milan, and protected by Morone, the Castellan of Musso, generally spoken of as II Musso, was able to allow himself many liberties and became the terror of the neighbourhood. His aspirations were plainly directed to the foundation of an independent sovereignty. This soldier, now twenty-eight years old, thus stands out as a type of those daring, ruthless and powerful condottieri, of whom the days of the Renaissance offer so many examples.

The prosperity of Gian Giacomo was naturally of the greatest advantage to his whole family. Gian Angelo was now in a position to complete his legal studies at the University of Bologna, where he enjoyed the tuition of the famous Carlo Ruini, and in 1525 won his doctor's degree in both branches of the law. On his return to Milan he was immediately received as a member of the *Collegio dei nobili giuresconsulti*. He owed this honour to the influence of Morone, who intended to make use of the young man for his secret political plans. Gian Angelo, as well as his brother, Gian Giacomo, was involved in the plot which Morone had set on foot for the liberation of Italy from the Spanish yoke, but the discovery of the conspiracy, which led to the imprisonment of Morone, ruined all their hopes. The two Medici, who were deeply compromised, fled to Musso, which was strongly fortified, and the Spaniards were not powerful enough to take energetic measures against them. When the Holy League was formed against the Emperor after the Peace of Madrid, Gian Giacomo, the skilled soldier, took part in the campaign against the Spaniards. A quarrel in which he was involved with the commander-in-chief of the Venetians, the Duke of Urbino, was the occasion of sending his brother, Gian Angelo, to Rome at the end of 1526. While Gian Angelo was diplomatically active against the Spaniards, the Castellan of Musso was waging a guerilla war against them. This daring soldier gave so much trouble to the Imperial leader, de Leva, that the latter resolved to make peace with him. Gian Giacomo, who always had an eye to his own interests, agreed all the more willingly to de Leva's offer as the League was falling to pieces. He entered, without scruple, into the service of the Emperor, who recognised him by patent, on October 31st, 1528, as Marquis of Musso and Count of Lecco. It was only towards the north that his sovereignty could be extended, and, therefore Gian Giacomo at once sought to secure an alliance by marrying his sister Chiara to Count Mark Sittich of Hohenems in the Vorarlberg, and at the same time formed other plans for the further extension of his power. For his brother, who was still in Rome and had become a Protonotary there, he had already procured a benefice in commendam at Mazzo in Valtellina, and now Gian Angelo was about to be elevated to the bishopric of Chur. The Protestant inhabitants of the Grisons, however, accused Abbot Theodore Schlegel, who was governing that diocese as vicar-general, of having secretly furthered this plan, and caused the unhappy man to be executed, after being horribly tortured, and in spite of his repeated protestations of his innocence, on January 23rd, 1529. This put an end to the plan of Gian Angelo becoming Bishop of Chur.

Still more painful was the blow which the year 1529 was to bring to the Medici family. The Emperor concluded peace with Francesco Sforza, and Gian Giacomo repaired personally to Bologna for the protection of his interests. Here he learned that investiture was to be refused to him, and that his sole remaining hope was the intercession of Clement VII. Gian Angelo, who had become closely associated with the Pope during the terrible days of the sack of the city, was working personally for this end in Bologna, but his influence proved insufficient, and the treaty of December 23rd, 1529, put an end to the sovereignty of Gian Giacomo. The Duke of Milan, however, had not got the necessary force to compel the Castellan of Musso to relinquish his possessions. He was still less able to do so when Gian Giacomo found a powerful intercessor in Duke Charles III of Savoy, who succeeded, in January, 1531, on the basis of the status quo, in arranging a temporary peace between Gian Giacomo and Francesco Sforza.

The Castellan of Musso soon showed that his bold and ambitious spirit was still unbroken. The aggravation of the differences between the Catholics and those of the new religion in Switzerland offered him a favourable opportunity for angling in troubled waters. The celebrated "Musso War," a prelude to the "Kappel War," began in March, 1531. In this enterprise Gian Giacomo had only his own personal ends in view, which he cleverly sought to disguise under the pretence of religious zeal. He assured the Emperor, the Pope, and the Italian princes that his intention was to subdue the Swiss, who were hostile to the Italians and steeped in abominable heresies. Gian Angelo, who, after the failure at Bologna, had left the Curia, was actively working in the same sense, and was now serving his brother as chancellor. All efforts, however, to interest the Pope and the Catholic powers in the struggle in Switzerland were unavailing. The Duke of Milan even made common cause with the inhabitants of the Grisons and accepted, by the treaty of May 7th, 1531, the command in the war, and especially of the siege of Musso. In spite of this the experienced condottiere was able to hold his own until the following year, and it was only when the mission of Gian Angelo, in the winter of 1531, to the conference at Baden, had broken down, that no choice remained to him but to accept the hard conditions of peace laid down by the conqueror. Gian Angelo, as the fully authorized representative of his brother, signed the treaty of peace with the Duke Francesco Sforza and the eight Cantons, on February 13th, 1532; Gian Giacomo had to relinquish all his possessions in exchange for a money indemnity and the title of Marquis of Marignano. The fortress of Musso was demolished, and its former master was forced at last to give up his ambitious schemes of one day acquiring an independent principality. He then went, with his brothers Gian Battista and Agosto to Savoy. Gian Angelo returned to Rome, where he was soon able to form new ties in addition to the influential connections which he had already made. It is not, therefore, surprising that he succeeded in obtaining a Papal brief in July, 1532, which recommended his elder brother to the Duke of Savoy. In this document Clement VII alluded to a family connection with the Medici of Milan, probably to win the support of the experienced soldier, Gian Giacomo, by the flattering fiction. In the year 1534 Gian Giacomo served the Duke of Savoy against Berne and Geneva, and two years later he appears in the pay of the Emperor, who was a brother-in-law of the Duke, at the siege of Turin, which the French were investing. After the failure of this undertaking, he fell under the suspicion of holding a traitorous intercourse with the French, whereupon the Imperial Viceroy in Milan, Guasto, caused him and his brother Gian Battista to

be arrested at the end of 1536. The proceedings for high treason which were taken against him, however, had no result.

Gian Angelo de' Medici, whose protector, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, had ascended the Papal throne on October 13th, 1534, now devoted all his powers to procuring the liberation of his imprisoned brothers. The new Pope had already in the first years of his reign entrusted the administration of Ascoli Piceno in the Marches to the astute Lombard,<sup>1</sup> and Gian Angelo went to Citta di Castello in 1535, and to Parma in 1536 in the same capacity. His unwearied efforts for the liberation of his imprisoned brothers, to which, among other documents, a letter in his own hand of May 24th, 1537, still preserved in the Vatican Archives, testifies, were at last to be crowned with success. When the meeting of Paul III and Charles V took place in the summer of 1538 at Nice, Gian Angelo also went there, and by the Pope's intercession he succeeded in inducing the Emperor to order his brothers to be set at liberty, whereupon Gian Giacomo again joined the army of Charles V, and won his favour in an increasing degree.

Gian Angelo, meanwhile, still filled the difficult yet by no means exalted office of an official in the administration of the States of the Church. He was Governor of Fano in 1539, and in the following year filled the same office for a second time in Parma. His faithful service at length resulted in his being appointed in 1542 apostolic commissary to the troops which Paul III sent to Hungary to assist King Ferdinand against the Turks. Here he met his brother, Gian Giacomo, who was commanding the Danube fleet, but who severely criticized the policy of the commander-in-chief, the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, in a memorandum which, as the complete failure of the enterprise proved, was fully justified.

On his return from Hungary to Italy, Gian Angelo settled a boundary dispute between Bologna and Ferrara, and afterwards again accompanied the troops with which Paul III supported the Turkish war of Ferdinand I, after which the Pope invested him with the administration of Ancona and gave him the rank of Papal Referendarius. Gian Giacomo had in the meantime been rendering the Emperor excellent service in the war against Cleves and France, and as a reward he was, in January, 1545, invested with Tre Pievi, on the lake of Como.

A matrimonial alliance which Gian Angelo successfully negotiated with the assistance of the friendly Duke of Florence, had a decisive influence on the further advancement of both the brothers. While Gian Giacomo was still employed at the seat of war, the daughter of Ludovico Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, and sister-in-law of the powerful Pier Luigi Farnese, was married to him by proxy in October 1545. The result was that Gian Angelo at length attained to a higher position. When his patron, Alessandro Farnese, had been raised to the Papal throne in 1534, Gian Angelo had hoped for speedy promotion, but the far-seeing Pope, especially in the early years of his reign, had shown scrupulous care in his choice of his higher officials, and he had contented himself with employing the worldly-minded Lombard, who was also not altogether innocent of offences against the moral law, in assisting him in the department of administration. In this position Gian Angelo had the mortifying experience of seeing his friends rise to distinguished positions in the Curia, his countryman, Girolamo Morone, having been created Cardinal in 1542, although he was ten years younger than himself.

It was a hard, but a salutary school which the young Medici had to pass through, a school in which he gained a thorough knowledge of men and countries, and learned to show adaptability in all circumstances.

After his brother's marriage had connected him with the family of the Pope, it was not fitting that Gian Angelo should remain in his hitherto modest position, and he was appointed Archbishop of Ragusa on December 14th, 1545, in which diocese he was represented by a vicar. It is certain that he now received the major orders for the first time; he was consecrated bishop in St. Peter's on April 26th, 1546. At this time his appointment as nuncio at Vienna seemed certain, but just at that moment the great crisis in Germany occurred, and Charles V, resolved on war against the Schmalkaldic League, allied himself with Paul III on June 26th, 1546. The Pope's nephew, Alessandro Farnese, was appointed Legate, and his brother Ottavio commander-in-chief of the Papal auxiliary forces, the Archbishop of Ragusa accompanying them as Commissary General. The future Pope, Pius IV was thus made acquainted with conditions in the country where the great schism in the Church had taken its origin, his field of vision being thereby substantially extended. At the seat of war he met his brother Gian Giacomo who, as colonel in chief of the infantry, was attached to the headquarters of the Emperor. When Alessandro Farnese returned to Rome he was accompanied by Gian Angelo, and a brief of July 23rd, 1547, decreed his appointment as Vice-Legate in Bologna where his friend Morone held the post of Legate. In September of the same year Medici had to hurry from Bologna to Parma, on receipt of the news of the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese, and it was mainly due to the energetic measures adopted by him that the city was saved for the Farnese.

Gian Angelo de' Medici was thus obliged to spend fifteen years in hard work of many kinds, before he was at last assured of the purple, which was only bestowed upon him when, on April 8th, 1549, Paul III held his last creation of Cardinals. Medici, who as Vice-Legate of Umbria, had been in Perugia since the autumn of 1548, now repaired to Rome, where he received S. Pudenziana as his titular church. Among those who offered him their congratulations was the Duke of Florence, who invited the new Cardinal to adopt the coat of arms of his house.

In the conclave held after the death of Paul III, Medici supported the Imperialist party, and had a decisive influence in the election of Julius III. The new Pope gave him his confidence and associated him with the preliminary work in connection with the reform of the conclave. During the war concerning Parma in the summer of 1551, Medici remained as legate with the Papal army, his brother, Gian Giacomo, being in command of the Imperial troops. At the end of the year, the Cardinal legate seems to have been himself responsible for his recall from his troublesome post, but the Emperor did not prove ungrateful, for Medici received the bishopric of Cassano in 1553, and three years later, that of Foligno.

Medici was much respected among his colleagues on account of his intimate acquaintance with canon law; he was permanent Prefect of the Signatura Gratiae, with Cardinal Saraceni, while he often represented Cardinal Puteo in the Signatura Justitiae. His principal work, however, was not done in the Curia, public opinion placing him among the Cardinals of lesser importance, while the people persisted in calling him "Medichino" as if the celebrated name of Medici was not suitable to him. The Cardinal had his residence in the Fieschi palace,



while he possessed a Vigna outside the Porta S. Pancrazio. In both of these he enjoyed seeing himself surrounded by men of letters. In politics, he was, as before, an adherent of the Emperor, from whom he enjoyed a pension; he never, however, took any prominent place in the party, and associated in a very friendly manner with those on the side of France. It was as little to his liking to bind himself to either side, as to take a prominent or important part in any struggle. He liked to keep on good terms with everyone, and the quiet times of Julius III were very much to his taste. The stormy reign of Paul IV was, therefore, all the more painful to him, as he had contributed towards his election, as well as to that of Marcellus II.

From an ecclesiastical, as well as from a political point of view, the Carafa Pope belonged to an entirely different school of thought from that of Medici. Although the latter had repeatedly taken part in the reform conferences under Julius III and Marcellus II, he was, nevertheless, as an old curialist of the days of the second Medici Pope, little affected by that mighty current which, under Paul IV, that inconsiderate zealot for the revival of the Church and powerful foe of the heretics, swept all before it. Paul IV on that account, made use of him principally in legal matters. The difference between them was still more striking with regard to their political views, and the fiery, imaginative Neapolitan formed an irreconcilable antithesis to the calm and sober Lombard.

This appeared when the political horizon grew cloudy. It is to the credit of Medici that he did not conceal his opinion, and pronounced courageously and decisively against the war with the worldwide power of Spain. The Cardinal was, however, obliged to leave Rome before hostilities broke out, for his brother, Gian Giacomo, who, in the struggle against Siena had lately given as great proofs of his skill in war as of his shocking cruelty and self-seeking, had suddenly died. The Cardinal, as head of the family, returned to Milan at the beginning of December to see to the inheritance, which duty, combined with an attack of gout, kept him there till the spring of 1556. He was back again in Rome in April, where he found himself, as an opponent of the war party, in a painful and, at last, in a dangerous position. On the other hand, his importance was a good deal increased by this, as his friend, the Duke of Florence, did not fail to give prominence, at the court of Brussels, to the services which Cardinal Medici had rendered by his opposition to the war. Medici's relations with Paul IV which had been tolerably friendly at the beginning of his pontificate, had now, owing to this attitude, become exactly the reverse, and this was not altered after the Peace of Cave. The fact that events had proved that his words of warning had been justified, did not improve the temper of the self-assured Carafa. The strict government of the impetuously reforming Pope, which, after the close of the war, became painfully evident in its harsh severity, disgusted the less strict members of the Curia with their life in Rome, and Medici, like many others, left the Eternal City in 1558. The voluntary exile which he thus took upon himself was not, however, the consequence of any open breach with Paul IV, whose nephew, Carlo Carafa, honoured the Cardinal by a visit in April; it was rather a period of leave, which Medici asked for in due form in order to undertake a cure for his gout at the baths of Lucca, and this Paul IV graciously accorded to him together with a grant of 1000 ducats. This gout trouble, for which the damp climate of Rome was most unsuitable, was no mere fiction, although there were several other reasons which induced the Cardinal to leave the Curia. The strict regime in the city, his family affairs, and above all,

certain ambitious plans which he wished to discuss in person with his patron, Cosimo I, all influenced him in coming to this decision.

When Medici left Rome on June 13th, 1558, he first repaired to his episcopal see of Foligno, and in the middle of July he proceeded to Florence. The consultations with Cosimo I concerned the next conclave. It was only now, when his unruly and adventurous brother was dead, that the Duke of Florence could look upon Cardinal Medici as a suitable candidate for the tiara. Previously Cosimo had only entertained a platonic friendship for Medici, and had curbed his ambition, but with the death of Gian Giacomo things had completely changed. In 1556 Cosimo seriously took up the Cardinal as a candidate for the Papacy, in the hope of finding in him a willing tool for the attainment of his ambitious plan of being created King of Tuscany. All details were discussed at their meeting in July, 1558, in the very probable event of Paul IV, who was far advanced in age, soon closing his eyes in death. This probability seemed very near its realization when, at the end of August, the Carafa Pope was attacked by a very severe illness. Medici, who was then at the baths of Lucca, heard, as excitedly as his patron, the news from Rome, which, however, soon announced that the iron constitution of the Pope had again surmounted the crisis. Only now did Medici, who had hitherto remained in the neighbourhood of Florence, betake himself to Milan. In a letter to the Duke of Florence at the beginning of October, he laid stress on the fact that all his hopes for the future were in the hands of His Highness. His expectations were not to be disappointed.

While Cosimo was making his preparations for the next conclave, Cardinal Medici remained, from October 18th, 1558, till the death of Paul IV, partly in his native city of Milan, and partly on the beautiful shores of the Lake of Como. In Milan he was occupied with the completion of the palace commenced by his brother, while he also distributed alms with great generosity from the rich inheritance of Gian Giacomo. His works of charity had also won the hearts of many in Rome, where he was known as the "Father of the poor".

It can easily be understood that the Roman populace should have eagerly greeted the elevation of such a man to the throne of St. Peter, and great was the jubilation when the new Pope announced that he would secure peace, justice, and an ample supply of provisions to the Eternal City, which promise he confirmed by reducing the price of grain as early as the end of December, at the expense of the Exchequer. The state of opposition in which Cardinal Medici had stood towards Paul IV, and the moderate and sober attitude which he had always adopted, gave promise of a peaceful pontificate which would heal the wounds inflicted by the war and the exaggerated severity of the late Pope. The diplomatists themselves were convinced of this, and as neither party had triumphed in the elevation of Medici, while neither of them had suffered a complete defeat, the representatives of the rival powers were, without exception, satisfied.

Although the new Pope was already over sixty, he was possessed of so much vigour that a long reign might be hoped for. He was of middle height, and had a very healthy colour, while his friendly and cheerful countenance showed no trace of the severe gravity and unapproachable haughtiness of his predecessor. His nose was slightly aquiline, his forehead was high, and his short beard was tinged with grey, while his brilliant grey-blue eyes told of a sanguine temperament,

which was clearly shown in his vivacious, impetuous, and often precipitate utterances, as well as in his almost incredible activity. The impatience with which, in spite of all his geniality and kindness, he listened to the explanations of others, constantly interrupting them with remarks, was very characteristic of him. He himself used often to speak for an hour at a time, having a very good opinion of his own abilities, which would endure no difference of opinion.

As Pius IV was inclined to corpulency, he attached great importance to regular and vigorous exercise, beginning and ending his day's work with a long walk. None of the Popes has been such a great walker as he was, and he was, moreover, no friend of stiff ceremonial, but was often to be met almost unattended in the streets of Rome, either on foot or on horse-back. All remonstrances on the score of his dignity or his age he ignored, saying "exercise maintains good health and keeps away illness, and I do not wish to die in bed." If he was attacked by fever one day, the next would find him, contrary to the orders of the doctors, again taking his usual walk.

Pius IV enjoyed living in the palace of San Marco, or in the magnificent apartments of the Castle of St. Angelo, especially during the first years of his reign. In the July, and again in the August of 1560, he visited the Palazzo Fieschi, in which he had resided as Cardinal, accompanied by Cardinals, ambassadors and numerous nobles. He went up and down stairs, inspecting all the apartments, and at last ascending to the tower of the palace, and all the time conversing in the most lively manner with those who accompanied him, and showing such activity that everyone was amazed. When he was congratulated on his vigour, shortly after his recovery from an illness, he remarked: "No, no. We do not wish to die so soon." He was particularly pleased by a remark of the Venetian ambassador, Mula, who said that there were senators in Venice who were twenty years older than His Holiness, yet who directed the affairs of State with as great skill as wisdom. The Pope himself reminded people that his predecessors had been twenty years older than he.

On September 25th, 1560, Pius IV left the palace of San Marco at an early hour, and proceeded, accompanied by eleven Cardinals and the Imperial, Portuguese and Venetian ambassadors, to S. Andrea, outside the Porta del Popolo, where he heard mass. The adjoining Villa Giulia was then visited, and the Pope walked about in the burning sun, without a stick, in animated conversation with the Cardinals, full of interest in the magnificent fountains and antique statues of the Villa, and quoting verses from the Latin poets. The Pope invited five Cardinals and the three ambassadors to dine with him, and conversed with them, principally on the subject of the antiquities of Rome. After dinner the conversation took a more serious turn, and dealt with current ecclesiastical and political affairs, and lasting so long that Cardinal Cueva, who was suffering from gout, had to ask permission to retire. At last the Pope also had a siesta, and then, partly on foot and partly on horseback, he visited the hilly part of the Villa, returning to the Vatican by the Ponte Mo lie. When they arrived there it was already night, but early the next morning, he was again going about the Vatican, inspecting the building operations which he had ordered.

In the following year the activity of Pius IV again aroused general astonishment, and the Mantuan agent, Francesco Tonina, reported on March

29th, 1561, that the Pope had ascended the cupola of St. Peter's and walked round it, a feat, says Tonina, which a man of twenty might have hesitated at. This man of sixty-two was, however, so little fatigued by it, that he returned again on the same day to the new building of the basilica, in which he took the greatest interest. Taking the same lively interest in all the new edifices he was having built in Rome, he appeared now here and now there. The reports of the Mantuan ambassador constantly tell in the years 1561 and 1562 how vigorous, energetic and cheerful the Pope was. He used to walk so quickly that, as Girolamo Soranzo relates, in the year 1563, he tired everyone out, no matter how young they might be. When he was inspecting the work at the Palazzo Colonna in August, 1564, this man of sixty-five even climbed the unsteady scaffolding, without the least fear of falling stones.

Gout and catarrh were the only illnesses which troubled Pius IV, and when he was not suffering from these, he almost always got up before daybreak. As soon as he was dressed he went for a long walk, during which he read his breviary. During the next two or three hours, the most important business was transacted, and then he received the ambassadors. After these duties were over, the Pope heard mass, and then, if there was time before dinner, His Holiness granted audiences to the Cardinals and other persons. He was by no means disinclined for the pleasures of the table, although his repasts were in no way as splendid as those of his predecessor, who had thought it necessary to display the magnificent side of the Papacy in this as in other ways. The dishes which appeared at the table of Pius IV were mostly plain and simple, and the service was performed by simple grooms of the chamber. The official banquets were also simple, the Pope wishing in this to set an example for the Cardinals and prelates. The Lombard could be recognised in his fondness for heavy dishes, especially puddings and pastry, prepared as in his native city, and of these Pius IV partook more freely than was good for his health. It was only in 1563, after a long illness, that he gave up heavy dishes and wine, a thing which proved very beneficial to his health. After dinner he enjoyed a long siesta and then recited the remainder of his breviary, and received one or more of the Cardinals and ambassadors. A long walk in the Belvedere, which lasted till darkness fell in the winter, but in the summer was prolonged until supper time, brought his day to a close.

Paul IV had always invited none but Cardinals and great prelates to his table, but such dignitaries were only occasionally to be seen at that of Pius IV. His simple and hearty manners were reflected in the free and unrestrained intercourse of his table. He was very fond of inviting intellectual and witty men of letters, but he did not disdain to amuse himself with the jokes of the court jesters. The Pope himself had a good knowledge of literature, and had always been interested in the works of poets and historians. When he gathered around him the most celebrated of the humanists of the time he was fond of showing off his excellent memory by quoting whole pages from the old writers. When conversing with the ambassadors Pius IV also liked sometimes to introduce a verse from Horace, or to cite examples from history. According to the learned opinion of Girolamo Soranzo the Pope knew Latin so well that he expressed himself in it at the consistories with the greatest fluency and pertinency. His handwriting was also as clear and decided as his style, although he committed little more than business communications and legal documents to paper, and his knowledge of canon law was as wide as it was profound, while he was intimately acquainted with everything connected with finance and the conduct of affairs. Although he

was a master in his understanding of the business of the Curia as a jurist and administrator, he had little deep theological knowledge. He was perfectly well aware of this himself, and left all knotty points in this matter for solution by experts. The reproaches levelled against him when he was a Cardinal in the conclave, concerning his remark with regard to the concessions to be granted to the Germans in the matters of communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests, must be attributed to the want on his part of a thorough theological training. Pius IV himself referred openly to his want of theological knowledge, and especially when he had promised more than he could perform. This frequently happened, because, kindhearted as he was, he found it very hard to refuse requests, and in difficult cases he preferred to take a middle course. His talent was particularly shown in the smoothing over and adjustment of conflicting interests, and this he was very fond of doing, and therefore hated nothing so much as harsh and inconsiderate action. His sense of statesmanship, and his grasp of practical questions and the needs of the moment were very remarkable. These qualities, as well as the absolute independence of his decisions, first came to light, it is true, after his elevation to the throne of St. Peter. Only then was it understood that the simple and shrewd Lombard possessed, if not a very outstanding, at least a thoroughly independent personality, and that he had made most excellent use of the manifold experience and knowledge of different countries which he had acquired during his long years of hard and practical work. Full of worldly wisdom, he had above all learned from the bitter experience of his predecessor that the respect due to the Holy See could not be maintained under strained relations with the Catholic princes, and that a moderate and cautious policy should be followed. This knowledge restrained his impulsive nature, and as early as December 26th, 1559, we find Pius IV saying to the ambassadors of Cosimo I that he wished to be on good terms with all the Catholic princes, and to preserve peace

The ambassadors were better able to understand the gifts of statesmanship of the new Pope, his clear grasp of the realities of practical political life, and his delicate tact, as his intercourse with them grew more unrestrained. Here again the difference between him and Paul IV showed itself in a marked degree, for it was now as easy to penetrate into the presence of Pius IV, as it had been in recent times difficult to obtain an audience with the head of the Church. None of the strict Spanish haughtiness of the Carafa Pope was now to be seen; Pius IV was simple, kind, and affable to everyone, and especially with the ambassadors he laid all ceremony aside. It was especially the representatives of Cosimo I and the Venetian Republic who were able to approach him at all times, and to whom he showed the greatest favour, and they repeatedly relate how the Pope, when about to take his walk in the Belvedere, would summon them quite unceremoniously to join him, while after their return they would accompany him to his private apartments. The kindness and condescension of His Holiness was so great, that he excused himself if, in consequence of pressing business, the ambassadors had to wait for a time. He liked to express his opinion in the most detailed way to the Venetian ambassadors, Marcantonio da Mula and Girolamo Soranzo, of whom he was particularly fond. Soranzo writes that his audiences seldom lasted less than an hour, and that the confidence which the Pope then showed him could not have been greater, while Pius IV himself repeatedly remarked that he told the ambassadors what he had been thinking over during the night.

Pius IV very clearly showed the great value he attached to his relations with Venice at the first appearance of the *obedientia* envoys of the Republic, who were literally overwhelmed with attentions. This ceremony took place on May 13th in the principal hall of the palace of San Marco, an honour which hitherto had not been conferred on the representatives of Venice. The Pope replied to Mula's address himself, repeatedly referring to the Republic by the title of "Serenissima," and during the private audience granted two days later to the Venetian ambassadors the Pope insisted on their being seated and remaining covered. On this occasion he praised the services of Venice as the defender of Christendom and the Holy See. He spoke so emphatically that the astonished ambassador wrote home: "This Pope will, if we do our part, always be on the side of Venice." At the same audience the Pope expressed himself, in the most confidential manner and in great detail, regarding the attitude which he intended taking up with respect to religious and political matters. In so doing, he insisted how ardently he desired to live in peace with all Christian princes, especially those in Italy, and to work for the well-being of the Church, adding that he intended again to summon the Council to Trent, and to maintain the unity of the faith in Italy. The ambassadors, who were treated with the greatest distinction during their stay in Rome, once more received similar assurances at their farewell audience on May 20th, 1560. Pius IV declared that he would defend the rights of the Church and the Holy See against all encroachments, but in other matters he would not fail to make friendly advances in so far as such were possible. These peaceful sentiments on the part of the Pope, as well as his intention of reforming the Church and continuing the Council, are emphasized by the Venetian ambassador, Luigi Mocenigo, in his final report of his embassy, in which he was replaced in 1560 by Marcantonio da Mula. He was of opinion that only two things gave cause for misgiving: the Pope's intimate relations with Cosimo I and the great number of his nephews.

CHAPTER III

The Pope's Relatives. Charles Borromeo. Diplomatic Relations with the Princes.

It is indeed a fact that few Popes have been so richly blessed with relations as Pius IV, and many of these received so great signs of affection that a new reign of nepotism might well be feared. The Medici from Milan gave the least cause for anxiety; Gian Giacomo died childless, and of the other brothers of the Pope there only remained Agosto. The disputes with this sarcastic man over the inheritance had been embittered yet more by his intriguing wife, whose reputation was none of the best, and the relations between the Pope and his brother since then had not been of a friendly nature. At the beginning of the pontificate Agosto was not even allowed to come to Rome, but when this permission was accorded to him in 1562, principally through the intercession of Cosimo I, he received indeed a monthly allowance of 200 scudi, but not, as he had expected, any influential office, for which, in any case, he would not have been suited.

The three youngest of the five sisters of Pius IV had been for years in a convent in Lombardy, while the two others were married: Margherita to Gilberto Borromeo, Count of Arona, and Chiara to Wolf Dietrich von Hohenems.

The noble family of Ems had their seat in the Vorarlberg, in the Castle of Hohenems, which is situated on a steep rock near Götzis. They were a war-like race, many members of which, with their vassals, had fought on the bloody battlefields of Italy, such as Mark Sittich I at the beginning of the XVIth century, and his still more famous cousin, Jakob von Ems, who, after a short but victorious career, fell before Ravenna on April 14th, 1512. Wolf Dietrich, the second son of Mark Sittich (born 1507, died 1538) also distinguished himself as a soldier in Italy. By his marriage with Chiara de' Medici, he had three sons and two daughters: Jakob Hannibal, Mark Sittich II, Gabriel, Margaret, and Helena. Cardinal Medici took a very lively interest in the children of his sister. In the archives of Hohenems there is still preserved a letter in which he dissuades the latter from sending the young Gabriel, who has no inclination for the priesthood, to the dangerous metropolis of Rome. When he was raised to the supreme pontificate Pius IV allowed all three sons to come to his court, but he soon had cause to regret this weakness.

From the marriage of the Pope's elder sister with Gilberto Borromeo, there were two sons, Federigo and Carlo. Pius IV distinguished these nephews to such a degree that the jealousy of those of Ems broke out fiercely. Besides those already mentioned there were yet other Milanese relatives on his mother's side, the five sons of Gian Pietro Serbelloni, who were all struggling for honours and office. The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara announces on January 17th, 1560, that the Pope has taken affairs in hand so energetically that hopes may be entertained of a better era, and that the number of his nephews who are flocking

to Rome is constantly increasing; already eighteen or twenty have arrived. A week later the same ambassador says that the number of the Pope's relatives is still growing. This is not, indeed, matter for surprise, for the prospects which opened before them were brilliant.

Pius IV showed the greatest favour to the sons of his sister Margherita, the two Counts Borromeo. The elder, Federigo, had already been present at the Pope's coronation, and soon afterwards the younger brother, Charles, also appeared, at the express summons of the Pope. It was a memorable day in the history of Rome and the Church when this youth of twenty-one made his entrance into the Eternal City. The elevation of his uncle to the throne of St. Peter could hardly have had a more happy result than that, at a single stroke, it opened the way on which he, in the course of a few years, was to become the most enlightened guide and the ablest promoter of the Catholic reformation.

Immediately after the arrival of Charles, Pius IV showed his affection for him so plainly that people said he loved him as the apple of his eye. He at once invested him with the dignity of Protonotary and with various benefices. It was at once rumoured in Milan as well as in Rome, that Charles, who was so highly esteemed by the Pope, would be raised to the purple, and his reception into the Sacred College followed very soon. On January 31st, 1560, Charles Borromeo, Gian Antonio Serbelloni, and Giovanni de' Medici, the seventeen-year-old son of Cosimo I, were created Cardinals. Pius IV soon showered further tokens of his love on Charles. On February 7th he received the administration of the archbishopric of Milan, and on April 25th the legation of Bologna. Pius IV had intended to give the direction of ecclesiastical and political affairs to Cardinal Morone, but the latter declined the honour. Thereupon the Pope transferred to Charles Borromeo the administration of the Papal States, and installed his Cardinal-nephew at the head of the secretariate of state. In the middle of March this appointment was announced to the nuncios, together with the order that in future all instructions given by the Cardinal Deacon of SS. Vito e Modesto, for such was the first titular church of Charles, were to be regarded as coming from the Pope himself.

Charles' only brother, Federigo, was also richly endowed with honours and dignities. This nephew, who was aged twenty-five, was to found the territorial power of the Borromei by means of a marriage with a member of a princely house. The bride chosen for him, as was announced as early as the end of February, 1560, was Virginia della Rovere, the daughter of Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino. A plan was made to bestow Camerino on him, as this was the inheritance of Virginia's mother, Guilia Varano, and it was once more to be taken from the Farnese family. The betrothal contract was signed on May 5th in the apartments of Cardinal Borromeo. Four days later Federigo went to Pesaro for the wedding, from whence he was to proceed to Milan to be present at the marriage of his sister, Camilla, to Cesare Gonzaga of Guastalla, the eldest son of Ferrante. On August 31st Cesare Gonzaga came to Rome, where the Pope received him very affectionately. In October the wife of Federigo was expected in the Eternal City, and apartments were prepared for her in the Belvedere, which were so sumptuous that they might have served for a king.



The Duke of Urbino himself appeared in Rome on November 4th, before the arrival of Virginia, and two days later Cosimo I. The stay of the latter prince in Rome, which was prolonged until December 28th, and the striking marks of honour paid to him by the Pope, gave rise to all sorts of rumours. It was believed that the Duke had come to receive the title of "King of Tuscany," but such an elevation was opposed both by Philip II and Ferdinand I and the diplomatists of the Hapsburgs in Rome were filled with all the greater misgivings as Cosimo's dealings with the Pope were kept very secret. The most various rumours were current, but at last events proved that Cosimo had completely deceived himself in believing that Pius IV would subordinate himself to the carrying out of all his schemes.

The Dukes of Urbino and Florence were still in Rome when, on December 7th, 1560, Virginia approached the city in gorgeous state. Four Cardinals and numerous prelates went to meet her at the Prima Porta, where she was also greeted by the Roman nobility, and at the Ponte Molle by the diplomatic corps. After Virginia had spent the night at the Villa Giulia, she made her entrance into the Eternal City on a white palfrey, her head covered with a coif gleaming with jewels, while an honour was rendered to the young Duchess which had hitherto been conferred only upon queens and empresses, for by her side rode two Cardinals, Revere and Borromeo.

Pius IV made it his business that honours and riches should also fall to the lot of his remaining nephews, but he was not able to satisfy them to the full. The second of the five Serbelloni brothers had been received, as has been already stated, into the Sacred College at the same time as Carlo Borromeo. Gian Battista Serbelloni had received the office of the Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, while his brother Gabrio had become Captain of the Papal guard. Fabrizio Serbelloni was sent in October, 1561, to France, to defend the city of Avignon, which was being threatened by the Huguenots, Gabrio Serbelloni was most dissatisfied with his office, and jealousy filled his heart. He complained to the Florentine ambassador as early as June, 1560, that the Pope did not make independent decisions, but submitted everything to the judgment of Cardinal Borromeo, and later on the same ambassador repeatedly heard bitter complaints from Gabrio, who thought himself quite put into the background.

The family of Hohenems was likewise filled with bitter jealousy at the signs of favour which were lavished upon the Borromei. These warlike German petty nobles had hurried to Rome immediately after the election of Pius IV in order to make their fortunes there as nephews of the Pope. They were dignified men, as Cardinal Truchsess informed Duke Albert of Bavaria, but the Italians laughed at them because of their want of culture and their rough and clumsy manners. They were not, however, lacking in ambition, and were of the opinion that one of their number should also be invested with the purple.[ Their aspirations rose yet higher when Ferdinand I raised them to the rank of Counts of the Empire on April 27th, 1560.

The jealousy of his nephews and their quarrels caused the Pope many hours of anxiety from the beginning of his reign. Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent interested himself in the German nephews to such an extent as to cause the Borromei considerable anxiety and displeasure. In order to give the Hohenems family

satisfaction and to put an end to their intrigues against the Borromei, Pius IV determined to get them out of Rome by sending them on honourable missions. Mark Sittich von Hohenems was, despite his very worldly inclinations, appointed Bishop of Cassano in 1560, and sent in the June of that year to the court of Ferdinand I, for which mission he was prepared by being first raised to the bishopric of Constance. On February 26th in the following year, Mark Sittich, although he was by no means fitted for it, received the dignity of Cardinal. In January, 1562, he was fixed upon as sixth legate for the Council of Trent. In all these positions he proved his worth as little as did his brother, Jakob Hannibal, in his mission to the court of Philip II of Spain. Gabriel von Hohenems was distinguished by being sent on an expedition to France, while his sister Margaret was married to a nephew of Cardinal Madruzzo.

Neither the Hohenems nor the Serbelloni attained to any great importance in Roman affairs in the years which followed, the whole of the Pope's affection being centred in the Borromei. Of this family, Charles, who was born at Arona, on the west shore of Lago Maggiore, on October 2nd, 1538, deserved in the fullest degree the affection and confidence which his uncle showed him. The choice of this youth of twenty-one to be Secretary of State turned out to be a brilliant success. When Pius IV made up his mind to this step he was moved, apart from family affection, at first only by the same considerations as had induced so many of his predecessors to act in a like manner. He believed, in view of the party differences in the Curia and the College of Cardinals, that he could only find a trustworthy confidant and fellow worker in his own family. That his choice fell on Charles Borromeo was a decisive factor for his whole reign. He found in him, above all, exactly what, as a man of independent character, he sought; a most loyal assistant, who endeavoured, with the greatest devotion, with persevering diligence and inexhaustible patience, to carry out the instructions of the head of the Church.

The members of the Curia, as well as the diplomatists, were little pleased with the new Secretary of State; they had no hope of gaining any influence over the old, experienced Pope, through his youthful nephew, and besides this, the strict manner of his life, and the thoroughly ecclesiastical sentiments of Charles were not at all to the taste of those persons whose ideal was still the nepotist type of the Renaissance, and of this Charles Borromeo showed not the least trace. His personal appearance was neither made attractive by good looks, nor imposing by its dignity. His excessive modesty of demeanour had the effect, at first, of concealing his intellectual gifts; his natural tendency to thoroughness and solidity rather than to outward brilliancy, did not lead him to any great communicativeness, or to put himself forward in any way. A defect in his speech, which caused the words to be uttered too quickly, and of which he was only gradually cured, added to the unfavourable impression which he made, while his modest reserve, as well as his scrupulous avoidance of benefitting by his position to enrich himself, or of enjoying life after the manner of the clerics of the Renaissance era, caused him to be looked upon at first as being of limited intelligence. In the ambassadorial reports concerning the early work of the youthful Secretary of State, he is described as a pious and good young man, but as possessing few qualities of any importance for the transaction of worldly affairs. In time, however, the opinion, even of the Venetian ambassadors, became more favourable. Those who were brought into closer contact with him could not

fail to notice that his intelligence was keen and his judgment clear, and that what he lacked in quickness of comprehension or in keenness of perception, he made up by assiduous application. His great energy enabled him to consider any important question from every point of view, very often for as much as six hours at a time, without any feeling of fatigue, before he arrived at a definite decision.

His firmness of character, his reliability and his deeply rooted piety were beyond all praise, and he had early given proofs of these qualities. Charles had been destined for the Church from his early youth, and educated to that end by a tutor at home, and hardly had he attained the age of fourteen in 1552, when this young scion of the ancient noble family of Arona proceeded to the University of Pavia to study law. His father had given him a majordomo, but Charles soon had to dismiss him as being unsuitable, and he was therefore thrown on his own resources immediately after leaving his father's home, and had to follow his own way independently. Filled with the thought that he owed it to his family, and especially to his two uncles, the commander-in-chief and the Cardinal, to distinguish himself, he applied himself with the greatest energy to his studies. In 1559, after many interruptions, partly caused by overwork, he passed his examinations as doctor of law with great distinction. He attended to his religious duties most conscientiously and kept himself pure and unstained in the licentious university city.

The distinguishing quality of the future reformer, his unusual talent for government and administration, was very obvious even during these years of study. In Pavia he had to manage his household and superintend his servants,<sup>1</sup> and he performed this duty with the greatest skill, in spite of many difficulties, and a constant want of money. During the vacations and the intervals in his studies, with his father's consent, he looked after the family estates, and after the death of the latter in 1558, his elder brother, Federigo, was quite willing that Charles should undertake the management of the family and their father's fortune into his already experienced hands. In accordance with the evil custom of the times, he had already, when a child, been appointed abbot *in commendam* of a Benedictine abbey, but the revenue from this he devoted, for the most part, and with his father's consent, to the poor. He also endeavoured successfully to reform the monks, and when friendly measures did not avail, he made it his business to see that recourse was had to the punishment of imprisonment.

Many other offices were soon bestowed on Charles by Pius IV in addition to those he already held. The Pope appointed him Protector of Portugal, Lower Germany and the seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland, as well as Protector of the Franciscans, Carmelites, Humiliati, the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, and of the orders of St. John and of Christ in Portugal. The revenues from these dignities, and from the different abbeys which were entrusted to him *in commendam*, as well as from his family estates, were valued by the commercial mind of the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, in 1563, at about 48,000 scudi annually.

The foreign ambassadors were filled with wonder that the Pope's youthful nephew was not seduced by all these honours and riches to give himself up to the pleasures of life. Nor was there the least sign of haughtiness about him, and his whole manner of life remained, according to the universal testimony of his

contemporaries, without a stain. He threw himself into his work with so much zeal, that at first his attendants feared that his health would be impaired. One of his intimate friends writes that he hardly allowed himself time to eat or to sleep in peace, and begs the uncle of Charles, Count Francesco, that he and Count Guido Borromeo would remonstrate with their nephew as much as lay in their power, for he was deaf to all the expostulations of his servants. Charles himself wrote on January 22nd, 1560, that he was well in health, in spite of the "endless strain," but that he found it hard to save as much as five or six hours for sleep. Entirely giving up his own inclinations and plans, he placed himself altogether at the disposal of the Pope, keeping as much at his side as possible the whole day long, and going every morning to the secretary of the State Chancery, Tolomeo Galli, for a conference two or three hours in length, concerning the reports and suits which had to be settled. The documents which arrived every day in great numbers at the office of the Secretary of State had immediately to be summarized and entered on short narrow octavo sheets. These extracts served Borromeo and Galli as the basis of their report to the Pope. The decisions, to which Pius IV came very quickly, were often noted in short expressive notes in pencil on the reverse side of the extracts, and were then made use of for the replies. The minutes which had been prepared in the office of the Secretary of State were again revised, either by Charles or, perhaps, the Pope himself, before a fair copy was finally made, and sometimes even these were again examined by the Pope. The instructions for the nuncios and legates were always drawn up in the name of Borromeo, who often added long notes to his signature. The Cardinal also often wrote long letters in his own hand; those drawn up in the name of the Pope only dealt with important matters, or when the person addressed had to be specially honoured, and in such cases Pius IV often added postscripts in his own hand, and these were seldom wanting in precision.

Almost the whole of the diplomatic correspondence passed through the hands of Borromeo, so that he was thus engaged in all the great questions of European politics, besides those in connection with purely ecclesiastical affairs. He also had to decide in the matter of petitions for pardon from condemned criminals, recommendations for appointments, decrees against bandits, letters of complaint, and many other similar matters of lesser importance. Besides these exacting duties, the Cardinal held a conference three times a week with eight legal experts, concerning current affairs in connection with the administration of the States of the Church. In addition to all these duties there were frequent meetings of the congregations of Cardinals, such as that on Thursdays for the reform of the Church, at which Borromeo had to be present, while for recreation he had the evening discussions in the academy which he had founded, under the title of "Vatican Nights," where Latin theses were read and discussed.

In spite of these splendid examples of self-sacrificing devotion to duty, Borromeo was still far from being the strict ascetic of his later years. He was passionately fond of the chase, and followed it for the benefit of his health more eagerly than his friends thought consistent with the dignity of a Cardinal. He paid great attention to the magnificence of his household, although he was for those days very moderate in his personal requirements, but his court consisted of 150 persons, who were clothed from head to foot in black velvet. He wished the Borromeo family to make an appearance which should correspond in every way with their present princely rank. His creation as Cardinal he announced to his

family in the simplest manner, and he desired that the happy event should only be celebrated in Arona, and especially by masses of the Holy Ghost. At the same time, however, he desired that his sister should have for the future two ladies as companions, and these were to be of noble birth and of good reputation. He expressed himself as filled with joy in his letters when his sisters, through the efforts of their uncle and the zealous co-operation of their brother, made aristocratic and wealthy marriages with the Gonzaga, Colonna, Altemps, and the princes of Venosa. On the other hand, when a less wealthy relative was about to marry beneath her rank, and thus lower the dignity of the family, he showed himself very much troubled.

Cardinal Borromeo took a particular interest in the fortunes of his only brother, Federigo, who had espoused the daughter of the Duke of Urbino, Virginia della Rovere, in 1560. The whole Borromeo family was justly proud of this alliance, which gave rise to the most flattering hopes. Federigo, on whose head fortune seemed to shower her gifts with a lavish hand, was of a quiet and retiring temperament, and does not seem to have aspired to exercise any influence in affairs of state. In spite of this, foreign princes eagerly sought his favour, especially Cosimo I, who presented to him the magnificent Altoviti palace in December, 1560, as well as a considerable sum of money, the relations of the Borromeo family' to the Duke of Florence being as close as those between father and son.

On April 2nd, Pius IV appointed the youthful head of the Borromeo family to be Captain-General of the Church, and solemnly presented his beloved Federigo with the Marshal's baton, which carried with it a monthly pension of 1,000 ducats. On the 22nd of the same month Federigo went to Trent as the representative of the Pope, in order to give the daughter of the King of the Romans, Ferdinand, the bride of the Duke of Mantua, an escort of honour to her new home. A year later, when Philip II was preparing to raise Federigo, who till now had been a count, to the dignity of Marquis of Oria, it really seemed as though the name of Borromeo would soon be able to rival that of Farnese or Medici in splendour and renown. Unfortunately Federigo quite unexpectedly succumbed to an attack of fever on December 19th, 1562, after an illness of only eight days. The magnificent funeral obsequies which were held for this youth who had been so suddenly snatched away from life, almost seemed to be the funeral rites for the glory of the house of Borromeo. Cardinal Borromeo might well see in the gold-embroidered pall which covered the coffin, as it lay in state under a gilded canopy at the obsequies on November 25th, a symbol of the splendid downfall of his family.

The sudden death of this much-loved nephew at the early age of twenty-seven, filled the Pope with the deepest sorrow. He bore it, however, with resignation, for he saw in this crushing blow, which destroyed all his plans for the elevation of his nephew, a punishment from heaven for the exaggerated concessions which he had made to the Spanish king with regard to the use of ecclesiastical revenues, with the intention of thereby promoting the interests of Federigo. The sudden destruction of such brilliant hopes also made a deep impression on Cardinal Borromeo, all the more so as, almost at the same time as he lost his beloved brother, the young son of the Duke of Florence, who had

received the Cardinal's hat at the same time as himself, suddenly died after a three days' illness.

The ascetic nature of Charles had for long resisted making any concessions to the more worldly conceptions of life, and now that the futility of all merely earthly aspirations was so rudely brought before his eyes, he resolved to free himself from the last traces of a worldly spirit, and to devote his life exclusively to the supreme goal.

The worldly-minded members of the Curia, and, as was believed, the Pope himself, drew quite other conclusions from these events. It was supposed that the heir of all the Borromeo riches would now give up his clerical career, and, in the place of his dead brother, carry on the family. Although Charles was already a sub-deacon, and as such had taken a vow of chastity, a Papal dispensation did not seem unlikely in his case. The Cardinal, however, put an end to any such expectations by receiving holy orders from Cardinal Cesi on July 17th, 1563. He took this step with the consent of the Pope, who had raised his nephew to the rank of Cardinal-Priest at the consistory of June 4th, 1563, and had thereby given him the express command to receive holy orders, declaring at the same time that he had never intended to force Charles to give up the priesthood, and that all rumours to the contrary were unfounded. Borromeo was much strengthened in his resolutions by the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, which he made under the direction of the Jesuit, Ribera. He said his first mass publicly, and with great solemnity in St. Peter's, at the altar of the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles, and his second in complete privacy in the chapel which had been used by Ignatius of Loyola.

After having received holy orders, Borromeo at first retained his court and state, but was always growing stricter towards his own person, and to such a degree that he now denied himself even the distraction of a walk. The discussions in his academy of the "Vatican Nights" now related more closely to spiritual matters, and he also began to fill in the gaps in his theological education by having lectures in philosophy and theology given to him. For some time he even thought of resigning his office of Secretary of State and retiring into the strict order of Camaldoli. The Bishop of Braga, however, Bartolomeo de Martyribus, dissuaded him from this step during a visit to Rome in 1563. Charles repeatedly begged the Pope to allow him to visit his archbishopric, at least for a time, and to forego a part of the rich benefices which had been assigned to him.

This change in the manner of life of the most important and the most highly esteemed Cardinal caused a great sensation in Rome, where many considered it worthy of blame, while even the friends of ecclesiastical reform were of opinion that, as might have been expected from his energetic and strict character, in many respects he went too far. Dissatisfaction was especially expressed against Ribera and the Jesuits, it being said that they had drawn the Cardinal into their nets to get money out of him, or even to prevail upon him to enter the Society. Similar rumours penetrated even to Pius IV, who appears to have given some credence to them, for, according to a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, of April 30th, 1564, the Pope showed great displeasure at the fact that Cardinal Borromeo had cut down the service at his table, and his whole household, besides having given other signs of his contempt for the world. He said that these were

melancholy notions savouring of the Theatines, and he commanded that the Jesuits and other religious orders should be informed that he would punish them if they set foot in the house of the Cardinal. The feeling against the Jesuits was so strong and so widespread that the secretary of the Order, Polanco, thought it necessary to send a letter in his own hand to Spain, in which he made the matter clear, and denied any responsibility on the part of the members of the Order for the steps taken by the Cardinal.

However compliant Charles Borromeo had hitherto been in giving way to the wishes of his uncle, he would not make the slightest concession to him in the matter of any mitigation of his severe rule of life. On the contrary, his strictness continued to increase, especially after the close of the Council of Trent. In June, 1564, his court and state were reduced to a great extent; about eighty persons, who seemed little suited for a clerical life, were dismissed and otherwise provided for, while those who remained were forbidden the use of silken garments and other luxuries. On one day in the week, the Cardinal took nothing but bread and water; he devoted yet more hours of the day to devotion than before; and in spite of the difficulty he had to contend with in speaking in public, he began to preach, a thing hitherto unknown for a Cardinal to do. He performed the most severe penances in secret, a scourge with spikes serving the purpose of lacerating his tender body, and sometimes he also used a triple chain, held together by a knot. The curiosity of his chamberlain, Ambrogio Romero, discovered these instruments of penance, when the Cardinal once forgot to remove the key from the box in which they were hidden from the gaze of those not intended to see them. Soranzo declares in 1565 that Borromeo had become extremely thin, through his zeal for work and study, as well as his fasts, vigils, and other mortifications. Borromeo kept up his strength in a wonderful way, and it was only at the end of the reign of Pius V that a complete breakdown of his health took place.

In time people ceased to find fault with the asceticism of Charles, and his example had an effect, even in the case of the worldly-minded diplomatists. Their testimony is all the more valuable and worthy of credence, as they were in the habit of ruthlessly laying bare the human weaknesses of even the highest dignitaries. When Girolamo Soranzo gave a report of his Roman embassy in June, 1563, he remarked: "The life of Cardinal Borromeo is most innocent, and absolutely blameless; by his religious attitude he gives an example which could not be surpassed. His exemplary manner of life is all the more worthy of praise as he is in the flower of his age, and is the very powerful nephew of a Pope, and lives at a court where the opportunity of enjoying pleasures of every kind is certainly not wanting to him." Two years later the Venetian, Giacomo Soranzo, wrote: "Cardinal Borromeo is only twenty-seven, but delicate, as he has impaired his health by study, fasting, vigils and abstinences. He is a doctor of laws, but devotes himself to theology with a zeal rare in our days. His life is most unworldly, and his zeal for religion is so great that one can say with all authority that by his example he is of more use to the Roman court than all the decrees of the Council. This nephew, so loved by the Pope, still in the bloom of youth and at a court full of temptations, who has overcome himself and the love of the world, is a rare phenomenon. Borromeo is devoted to the Pope, who, for his part thinks the world of him and his wishes, as may be seen in the last promotion of Cardinals, when only such were chosen as he had either proposed or recommended. He and the

Pope, however, are of two different natures, and Pius IV would like to see him more jovial and less strict in his life and ideas. He even said so to the Jesuits, who have a great influence on the Cardinal's manner of life, but the latter did not allow himself to be diverted from his own way. He is not much loved at court, because they are used to other ways there, and they complain that the Cardinal asks the Pope for little and gives little of his own. As to the first, it is with him a matter of conscience, while as far as his own is concerned, he uses it for alms, for the portions of penniless maidens, and for the payment of the debts which his brother left." It is clear how lavishly Borromeo distributed alms from the fact that at that time he spent hardly anything on himself, from the revenues which accrued to him from the archbishopric of Milan. The Borromeo College in Pavia is a magnificent foundation dating from his days in Rome, and which he caused to be erected in 1564 by the architect, Pellegrino Pellegrini, to protect poor students of noble family from the dangers which he had learned to know in his own student days. As a striking testimony to his benevolence, the table is still preserved in S. Prassede, at which he served the poor with food.

Next to Charles Borromeo, Pius IV greatly valued in the early days of his reign, Cardinal Morone, who was a man of very wide experience, especially in affairs relating to Germany. He gave him, however, as little as to the other Cardinals, a decisive influence over his plans. However much the Papal court and the diplomatists might wonder, Pius IV persisted in reserving the affairs of state to his own cool judgment. He was led to this, not only by his own self-confidence, but also by a deep distrust of the Cardinals, of whom hardly one was quite independent of the influence of foreign princes. Girolamo Soranzo thinks that the vacillating attitude which the Pope often displayed is to be attributed to the fact that he did not consult with others. As His Holiness is of a very hasty temperament," the Venetian explains, "even with regard to the most important affairs, he comes to a decision very rapidly; should difficulties then arise, he shows no obstinate persistence, but alters his decisions quickly and completely."

The sense of statesmanship which, besides the great independence of his decisions, was characteristic of Pius IV, showed itself especially in his dealings with the secular princes. In this respect he followed an exactly opposite policy to that of his predecessor. While Paul IV, with a strange want of appreciation of the true state of public affairs, imagined that he could treat the princes, not as his sons, but as his subjects, the shrewd Lombard believed that, in view of the great defections from Rome, the authority of ecclesiastical power must be strengthened by the support of the secular princes. To this cause is to be attributed his moderation and his conciliatory attitude towards them.

Ferdinand I, whose succession to the Imperial dignity Paul IV had always obstinately refused to acknowledge, was the first to experience this conciliatory attitude. It was very soon seen that Pius IV intended, as soon as possible, to put an end to this unhappy dispute, which was so hurtful to the Catholic cause in Germany. On December 30th, 1559, the Pope declared to the Cardinals that he did not consider it of any use to contest Ferdinand's election, for, although non-Catholics had taken part in it, the Catholics had done so as well. He referred emphatically to Ferdinand's zeal for the cause of religion, and to his services as the defender of Christendom in the war against the Turks. All the Cardinals, with one exception, agreed to concede the Imperial title to the King of Hungary and



Bohemia, under the condition, however, that Ferdinand should make apologies for having taken possession of the Hungarian bishoprics, for the Treaty of Passau, and for other decisions made by the Diet. Ferdinand, highly delighted at this change of policy in Rome, declared himself ready to do so, and at once assured the Pope, through his ambassador, Thurm, that he would do his utmost to bring about the return of his son, Maximilian, to the Church. As the question, based on principle, as to whether Papal recognition was necessary for the lawful accession of the Emperor to the throne, was not touched upon, the reconciliation with Rome was assured by this concession to Ferdinand.

A difficulty which arose at the last moment was also happily removed. The representative of Ferdinand I, Scipione d'Arco, who had arrived in Rome on February 12th, 1560, and had taken up his residence in the Vatican, had orders to congratulate the Pope on his accession in a public audience, and to assure him of respect and homage in the name of the Emperor. The Pope, however, required in addition the oath of obedience. Arco hesitated, and it was only when Cardinals Morone and Madruzzo reasoned with him that he decided to exceed his authority and comply with the wish of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon the ceremony of the *obedientia* by the Emperor's representative took place in a public consistory in the Sala Regia, on February 17th, 1560. The conclusion of peace between the two greatest powers of Christendom was sealed by the restoration of the nunciature at the Imperial court.

Pius IV once more filled the nunciatures of Venice and Florence, left vacant at the death of Paul IV, and also changed the holders of the remaining nunciatures. All this took place in the small space of three months. This, and the fact that not one of Paul IV's nuncios was sent to a new post, clearly shows that the Pope was acting in pursuance of a carefully thoughtout plan, by which he removed all the diplomatists of his predecessor. The Pope also took steps as early as the summer of 1560, to found permanent nunciatures at Turin and Florence. The new Swiss nuncio, Gio van Antonio Volpi, Bishop of Como, received permission to remain in his diocese, from whence he could more easily reach the Catholic parts of Switzerland than from Lucerne. The exclusion from the cardinalate of all those nuncios who had been recommended by a prince to whom they were accredited, was a most salutary proceeding.

The resumption of diplomatic relations which had been interrupted during the pontificate of Paul IV, as well as the development of the nunciatures, indicate the value which the new Pope attached to the keeping up of friendly relations with the secular powers. The beginning of the reign of Pius IV, also showed a strong contrast to that of his predecessor in the Eternal City itself. How the Romans rejoiced when the Pope, in February, 1560, again permitted the carnival festivities! At the same time, however, steps were rightly taken to prevent abuses.

It was not only the Romans who rejoiced when one of the first official acts of the new Pope was to limit once more the powers of the Inquisition to its original and proper sphere, and to mitigate many of the excessively harsh reform decrees of Paul IV. This showed itself first in the matter of the examination of candidates for bishoprics, as to which, however, the essential points of the reforms of the Carafa Pope were retained. Other mitigations of the rigorous decrees of Paul IV soon followed.

One particularly thorny point was how to proceed with the carrying out of the severe penalties which the bull of Paul IV of July 20th, 1558, had decreed against the numerous monks who were living outside their monasteries, or had entered orders which were less strict than their own. A very great number of these unfortunate men appeared before the Pope and asked for pardon, but this request, even with all due regard for mercy, could not be granted without further consideration. Exhaustive discussions followed as to how a middle course could be arrived at, which should avoid both exaggerated severity and too great clemency. It was clear that serious difficulties had arisen in the carrying out of the bull of Paul IV. The monks affected by it were too numerous, and complaints were made that the constitution did not make the necessary distinctions, as many lived outside their monasteries for valid reasons, and with the permission of the Apostolic See and the superiors of their orders. Several, moreover, had shown themselves ready to obey the command of Paul IV, but could not be received back by their former superiors; they therefore lost their means of subsistence and were, by decrees, excluded from the sacraments. Paul IV had also forbidden by a decree, that anyone should give shelter to an "apostate" monk, but this order could hardly be put into force owing to the great number, and hence arose many difficulties of conscience. Pius IV, therefore, on April 3rd, 1560, absolved all those who, on account of disobedience to the decrees of his predecessor, had fallen under censure or into irregularity, and repealed the decree itself in so far as it went beyond the common law, and at the same time gave extraordinary powers to his Vicar in Rome, Cardinal Savelli, and to the bishops and superiors of orders, to decide in the name of the Pope matters in dispute concerning the "apostates" and those monks who had entered other orders. These were obliged within six months to submit their dispensations to the duly qualified judge and obey his decision.

It is characteristic of conditions in the Curia that as soon as the pressure exercised by Paul IV had been removed, the evil elements immediately wakened once more into activity, but if anyone thought that the work of reform had come to a standstill under the new Pope, he was grievously mistaken. Pius IV declared quite openly that what had been tolerated in the time of Leo X would no longer be allowed. When he confirmed the election capitulation on January 12th, 1560, he announced his intention of carrying out as Pope the thing that appeared the most necessary to all persons of discernment, namely, the taking seriously in hand of the questions of reform and the Council. He also spoke to the same effect at his first consistory, held on the same day, and announced that a commission for the "reform of morals" would be appointed even before the meeting of the Council. Of this Cardinals Tournon, Carpi, Morone, Madruzzo, Cueva, Saraceni, Puteo, Cicada, Dolera, Savelli, Alessandro Farnese, Santa Fiora, Este and Charles Borromeo were members. They were to meet every Thursday, and to prepare important changes in the Papal tribunals and the conclave. The bishops who were lingering at the curia were called upon to fulfil their duty of residence,<sup>1</sup> and immediately afterwards three Cardinals received orders to take steps to provide Rome with grain.

To the great joy of the Curia, Pius IV also showed his love of peace in the most unequivocal manner, promised to provide for strict justice, willingly granted audiences to all, discharged business quickly and skilfully, and displayed, in addition, great activity in building. A bull of May 15th, 1560, graciously forgave the Romans for the excesses of which they had been guilty at the time of the death

of Paul IV, and the city of Rome, which had suffered so much under the Carafa Pope, improved in a remarkable manner, both with regard to its prosperity, and also in the number of its inhabitants, which rose in 1563 to 80,000. The Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, describes Rome at this time as the most beautiful city of the Appenine peninsula, and praised its international character, which had nearly disappeared under Paul IV. An intimate friend of Cardinal Santa Fiora gave, on October 25th, 1561, in a letter to Vincenzo Gonzaga, an enthusiastic description of Rome under the new pontificate: "The city is unfolding itself in its fullest beauty. The Pope promised at the beginning of his reign to protect religion, peace, and justice, and to provide for the material needs of his capital, and he has kept his word. Rome has a superabundance of grain, wine, and other necessaries, and the feeling of general contentment is universal. Persons of good conduct and talent are highly esteemed, and worthless characters have either to change their ways or submit to punishment, if they do not prefer to go, of their own accord, into banishment. Perfect peace prevails in public, as in private life. The Pope promotes the affair of the Council by every possible means, and knows how to combine clemency with justice."

As a matter of fact, Pius IV did indeed temper with mildness the severity of his predecessor, in all cases where it was possible. Only in the matter of the Carafa family did he go far beyond what had been done by Paul IV.

CHAPTER IV

The Fall of the House of Carafa

When, in January, 1559, the sudden fall of the nephews of Paul IV took place, the Pope had expressed the hope that his successor would punish the guilty in a fitting manner. There seemed, at first, but little prospect of his hope being realized, as Cardinal Carlo Carafa succeeded after the death of Paul IV in again immediately gaining a firm footing in the Sacred College. The fierce anger of his enemies stood him in good stead in this respect, for even those who, like Cardinal Pacheco, were by no means friendly to the Carafa, blamed the wild excesses of the Romans, against which the Sacred College was bound, in its own interests, to make a stand.

The Romans understood these feelings very well, and although they were resolved upon the banishment of the secular nephews of Paul IV, they did not dare to proceed in a like manner against the two Cardinals, Carlo and Alfonso Carafa. The request of the Roman people to be allowed to drive the Duke of Paliano, Giovanni Carafa, out of the States of the Church, was unanimously rejected by the Sacred College. The shrewd attitude taken up by Cardinal Carlo Carafa had not been without its influence upon this refusal. He declared, before the Cardinals, that if it were for the good of the Church, not only his brother, but also he himself and Cardinal Alfonso would leave Rome; they were prepared to sacrifice their own personal interests to the public good; but if it were a mere question of satisfying hatred, the Cardinals would do well to consider what such a compliance with the fury of the populace would entail. In the election capitulation, the Cardinals had later expressly resolved that the new Pope should severely punish the excesses committed during the vacancy in the Papal throne.

Although the influence of Cardinal Carlo was evident in these decisions, there could yet be no doubt as to the continued activity of the former enemies of the family; should these gain the upper hand in the conclave, then a fresh exile, and perhaps worse, was to be feared. Fully aware of the threatened danger, Cardinal Carlo Carafa did his utmost in the negotiations concerning the Papal election to gain a decisive influence in the elevation of the new head of the Church. The manner in which he set about this shows that he had learned nothing during his exile. With incredible arrogance, he again displayed his consciousness of his former power, and with utter want of consideration treated his colleagues as if they had been his servants. He made use of every possible means to make his position in the conclave appear to be decisive, and to make use of it in the interests of his family. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that he was prepared to elevate one who was thoroughly incapable to the Papal throne, for his candidates, Carpi, Pacheco, Dolera and Gonzaga, were worthy men, but in other respects he adopted in the conclave a policy merely conducive to his interests. Although formerly his

sympathies had been on the side of the French, he now declared himself for the candidate of the Spaniards, from whom alone he could expect a great reward for his family. When Philip II, by restoring Paliano to its former possessor, did not seem to appreciate his services, he declared himself neutral, probably so as to let the Spaniards feel his importance, and had, in fact, the satisfaction of seeing both French and Spaniards alternately flattering and wooing him. and of standing out as the arbiter of the conclave. He again turned to the Spaniards on the strength of the promises made to him by the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, thereby breaking his word to the French without scruple, and frustrating the already far advanced candidature of Gonzaga.

It was a severe blow to him when his attempt on behalf of Carpi, made at the same time, was a failure, for, as Bernardino Pia informs us, Carafa knew well that his cause was lost if this candidature, for the sake of which he had made so many enemies, did not succeed. There remained, indeed, no other course for him but to declare himself for Medici, whose election he had hitherto opposed. This change, which was by no means voluntary on his part, had been effected by means of promises which gave Carafa reason to hope that the new Pope would support his interests in the matter of Paliano, and induce Philip II, at any rate, to keep the fortress in a state of sequestration until such time as a suitable indemnity could be arranged.

Although Pius IV clearly understood that the participation of Carafa in his election had been neither voluntary nor disinterested, he nevertheless gave him credit for the great services he had rendered him, and showed his gratitude in various ways. At the end of December, 1559, the envoy sent to Spain was a declared adherent of the Carafa, and had instructions to work diligently to obtain compensation for Paliano. Cardinal Carafa had all the more reason to look for a happy issue to this affair, as Vargas, the representative of Philip II in Rome, was altogether on his side, and urgently represented to his master how greatly it was to his own interests to fulfil the expectations of Carafa. Duke Cosimo I of Florence, who had made binding promises to Carafa during the conclave, was also active in the same sense. The enormous importance of the attitude taken up by the Spanish king, not only with regard to Paliano, but also for the whole future of his family, could not fail to be understood by so experienced a politician as Carlo Carafa. He therefore caused a special envoy, in the person of Oliviero Sesso, to be sent to the court at Toledo, at the beginning of January, 1560, who was to remind Philip II, in the most discreet manner, of the great services which Cardinal Carafa had rendered to the Spanish cause during the Papal election. How great was the desire of Pius IV, at the beginning of March, 1560, that the question of compensation for Paliano should be settled in a sense favourable to the Carafa, is clear from the instructions given to the new nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta, then starting for Spain.

While, at the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV, a prosperous future seemed to be dawning for the nephews of his predecessor, a storm was slowly gathering over their heads, which was destined to overwhelm them.

The despotism which the Carafa had exercised in Rome during the period of their unlimited influence over Paul IV, had given rise in all quarters to the greatest bitterness and hatred against them. Among the numerous enemies whom the Carafa had made for themselves, many were persons of the greatest influence,

who did everything in their power to turn the new Pope against them. The most important of these were Marcantonio Colonna, and the all-powerful Cardinal Camerlengo, Guido Antonio Sforza of Santa Fiora. Both had been deeply offended and gravely injured by the Carafa under Paul IV. In the case of Santa Fiora, the official representative of the interests of Philip II, he was not only actuated by feelings of revenge, but also by the knowledge that the protegee of the Spanish king, Marcantonio Colonna, could only gain possession of his strongholds by the destruction of the Carafa.

Cardinal Carafa had also made a very bitter enemy of Ercole Gonzaga by his disloyal behaviour in the conclave. Unfortunately for Carlo Carafa, Gonzaga and his friends, among whom was the powerful Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, had won great influence in the Curia at the very beginning of the reign of Pius IV, through the union of their families with that of the Pope. While Madruzzo was endeavouring to secure Gallese and Soriano for the Altemps, Ercole Gonzaga was seeking, as early as January, 1560, to pave the way for himself to the supreme dignity. The Carafa stood in the way of both of them, and both, therefore, brought strong pressure to bear upon Pius IV to turn him against the nephews of Paul IV. Complaints against that family were all the more readily believed by the new Pope, as he had belonged to the opposition party during the pontificate of Paul IV, which had been fully aware of the faults and blunders of the government, and had sharply criticized them. The contrast to his predecessor's method of government had already been so plainly shown by the new Pope in other respects, that one might describe it as a reaction against the pontificate of Paul IV. From this reaction the Carafa, who had to bear so much of the blame for the mistakes of their uncle, could scarcely hope to be spared, and it is, therefore, no wonder that even at the beginning of 1560, their position threatened to become one of danger.

Their former guilt was still further increased by a tragic event which had taken place before the election of Pius IV. Giovanni Carafa, Duke of Paliano, a man who was easily roused to anger, and in his rage lost all control of himself, had led a brilliant, extravagant and unrestrained life when he had been at the height of his power. In spite of his own unfaithfulness he loved his wife, the beautiful, gifted and cultured Violante d'Alife, who had borne him three children. She was not unaware of the immoral life led by her husband. After the fall of the Pope's nephews, the Duke had betaken himself, with Violante, to their possessions on the northern side of the Ciminian hills, between Viterbo and Civita Castellana, where they resided in the castles of Gallese and Soriano. In that lonely neighbourhood, the rugged character of which makes a deep impression on the visitor, an event took place during the summer of 1559, while Paul IV was still alive, which was not altogether cleared up even during the proceedings which took place later on.

The following facts may, however, be taken as certain : in the July of that year, tales were brought to the Duke of Paliano to the effect that his wife was carrying on illicit relations with one of the members of her household, the handsome and talented Neapolitan, Marcello Capece. The Duke was all the more ready to become suspicious and jealous as he knew himself to be guilty of a similar want of fidelity. He gave credence to the guilt of Capece and his wife, and took a bloody revenge upon both of them. Capece was taken to the dungeons of the

fortress of Soriano, while the Duchess was strictly guarded in the castle of Gallese. The jealousy of the Duke was still further inflamed by the false ideas of honour then common among the nobles, which taught that the adultery of a wife brought such a stain upon the family as could only be washed out in the blood of the guilty parties. Giovanni Carafa was strengthened in this view, not only by his brother, Cardinal Carlo, but also by his brother-in-law. Justifying himself on his right, as feudal lord of his subjects, to judge and punish them without restraint, he set up a secret criminal court, of which he himself, the brother of the Duchess, Ferrante, Count d'Alife, her uncle, Lionardo di Cardine, and a third relative, Gian Antonio Toralto, were the members. The investigation, if one can call it such, took place in secret, completely ignoring all legal forms, without witnesses, defence or notary. The court was held in the strong old fortress of the Orsini, which stands high above the little town of Soriano. An admission was drawn from Capece under torture that he had enjoyed the favour of the Duchess ; the Duke, thereupon, seized with ungovernable fury, stabbed him on the spot, during the night between July 26th and 27th, 1559. In consequence of the excitement, and the persistent pressure of his relatives, to cleanse still further the supposedly besmirched honour of the family, by the blood of the Duchess, the enraged man fell ill, and although the Duchess was with child, he offered but a feeble resistance to their will. The Count d'Alife undertook to strangle his sister with his own hands, and on August 29th, 1559, he appeared with Lionardo di Cardine and a band of armed retainers at Gallese. They had brought two priests with them from the Capuchin convent there, who were to prepare the unhappy victim for death. The Capuchins begged in vain for a delay in carrying out the deed, in view of the condition of the Duchess, but the Count answered that he had to go to Rome, and that he could not show himself there with this brand upon his brow. Violante was resigned to her fate; she confessed and communicated, and protested her innocence with her dying breath.

This event would have caused a still greater sensation had it not taken place during the troubled days of the vacancy in the Papal throne, eleven days after the death of Paul IV. Nevertheless, the enemies of the Carafa took good care that it was not forgotten. A report from Rome on January 6th,

1560, announces that the Duke of Paliano had arrived at the last post station before Rome, at La Storta, where he had conferred for three hours 'with his brother, the Cardinal; "he did not dare to enter the city, for his case looked bad." A second report, of January 13th, relates that the Duke had begged for mercy from the Pope, but that the latter intended to proceed against the murderers. Pius IV did not hurry matters, and it was only at the end of March that clear-sighted observers were able to detect signs that a criminal suit against the Carafa was impending.

This decision was certainly not an easy one for Pius IV, but if only to secure order he had no choice but to bring the haughty nephews of Paul IV to submission. He at first set to work with great caution. Girolamo de Federicis and Alessandro Pallantieri were reinstated on March 27th, 1560, in the positions of which they had been deprived by Paul IV; the former was again appointed Governor of Rome, and the latter Procurator-Fiscal. Pius IV issued a decree on April 3rd, probably on the advice of Pallantieri, which renewed severe penalties against those who had usurped Church property. This measure was connected

with certain accusations which had been made against Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, that he had used his influence during the illness of Paul IV to induce the Pope to give him presents. In the meantime Pallantieri was hard at work so that the excesses of the other members of the family should not remain unpunished, and the time now seemed to have come when he would be able to take revenge for his deposition, and his more than two years' imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. An enterprising and vindictive man, like this experienced lawyer, was the most suitable person to collect from all sources proofs of the excesses of the Carafa. Their creditors were next set in motion, and immediately began to assail the Pope with their complaints. At the beginning of April Pius IV informed Cardinals Carlo and Alfonso Carafa that he must insist on their satisfying their creditors, whereupon both the Cardinals betook themselves to Gallese to discuss with the Duke of Paliano how this was to be effected. A short time afterwards Cardinal Alfonso was called to account, in virtue of the decree of April 3rd. He declared that he had received a casket of jewels from the dying Pope as a present, and that this had been effected by means of a brief. The latter was dated on the day of the death of Paul IV, and the enemies of the Carafa said that it was an extortion which must be made good. Pius IV ordered that it must be clearly shown how the casket came into the Cardinal's possession, as the brief did not appear to be very authentic, and it was already reported that the Pope would decide the dispute between Alfonso Carafa and the Cardinal Camerlengo in favour of the latter.

In this state of affairs a great deal depended upon the attitude of the King of Spain, and he could not think of putting the interests of the Carafa before those of Marcantonio Colonna, who was entirely devoted to him. Nor was this the only thing to be considered. According to the principle that unreliable confederates and dangerous opponents should be destroyed while there was yet time, the suppression and, if possible, the destruction of the family which had brought about such a severe struggle with the Holy See under Paul IV, seemed to him to be the policy to be followed. Fabrizio di Sangro and Ottaviano Raverta received undecisive answers, which showed plainly enough that the Spanish king paid much more attention to the advice of Cardinal Santa Fiora than to that of Francisco Vargas. When the Count of Tendilla, the ambassador extraordinary of Philip II, arrived in Rome on May 12th, for the *obedientia* ceremony, the true state of the king's mind was seen even more clearly. In contrast to Vargas, who still worked for the Carafa with undiminished zeal, Tendilla displayed a marked indifference towards the nephews of Paul IV. He had at first taken up his residence at the Spanish embassy with Vargas, but afterwards, at the express wish of the Pope, removed to the Belvedere. There he repeatedly had secret conferences with Pius IV, and shrewd observers were quick to conclude that negotiations prejudicial to the Carafa were taking place. There can, indeed, be no doubt that not only the enemies of the Carafa in Rome, but Philip II as well, were at that time inciting the Pope to take decisive steps against the nephews of Paul IV, and that their efforts were meeting with success. Pius IV, however, was careful not to let his altered frame of mind appear, and he explained this later on by saying that he wished to prevent the flight of the Carafa. The latter were able, therefore, to lull themselves with a false sense of security, indeed, their confidence was so complete that they even dared to challenge their enemies, for it can only be so described when the Duke of Paliano commenced a law-suit in Gallese against Marcantonio Colonna on the ground of an alleged attempt at poisoning



him. Pius IV appeared to give sanction to this proceeding by ordering a commissary to go to Gallese.

Cardinal Carafa had not the slightest idea at the beginning of June how near his enemies were to attaining their end, although the altered state of affairs did not escape the notice of the diplomatists. That keen observer, the Venetian ambassador, informed the Doge at that time that Tendilla was always conferring in secret with the Pope, without the knowledge of Vargas or the Spanish Cardinals, concerning the matter of compensation for Paliano, a question which was developing to the disadvantage of the Carafa; that Marcantonio was successfully arranging his sister's marriage with Annibale Altemps, and that Colonna's mother was shortly returning to Rome. To this was added the fateful news that Vargas, the friend of the Carafa, was not in favour with the Pope nor at the Curia. The Florentine ambassador announces at the same time the great zeal shown by Pallantieri in collecting evidence against the Carafa, "As the Imperialists," he adds, "show neither in deeds nor in words any consideration for Cardinal Carafa, one cannot but fear for his future."

The Cardinal himself feared nothing. He was fully persuaded that the Pope would arrange that he should be fully compensated, for he owed to him his election. Cardinal Carafa, announces Mula, rejoices that Philip II lent no willing ear to his enemies; he dined with Borromeo on June 3rd, and appears in very good spirits.

Cardinal Carlo Carafa's answer to his brother Giovanni, dated June 1st, when he had consulted him about his return to Rome, also expresses great confidence. In this letter the Cardinal thinks that although Philip II has given no decisive answer, they may nevertheless hope that the matter of compensation will be satisfactorily settled, all the more because the Pope shows the greatest desire for this; the Duke is quite at liberty to come to Rome.

The feeling of confidence entertained by Cardinal Carafa was not even shaken when Pius IV, after the arrest on May 27th of Cardinal del Monte, who had stained his purple with blood, made the remark: "We have not yet come to the end." This hint inspired Cardinal Carafa with as little fear as the fact that the old enemy of his house, Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna, who had been obliged to fly in disguise from Rome four years before, now made a triumphal entry into the city, many of the Romans, including the guard and the relatives of the Pope, going to meet her. On the following day she had an audience of ceremony.

On June 6th the Duke of Paliano also returned to Rome. In consequence of favourable news from Spain both he and his brother the Cardinal were in the best of spirits; in the evening they amused themselves with music and dancing in the company of loose women.

A secret consistory had been arranged to take place in the Vatican on the morning of June 7th. This was held in the apartment situated between the Appartamento Borgia and the Sala Ducale, which is now called the Sala Guardaroba. The Cardinals were awaiting the appearance of the Pope when Aurelio Spina, a chamberlain of Cardinal Borromeo, announced to Cardinal Carafa that His Holiness wished to speak to him. The Cardinal, in joyful expectation, followed the chamberlain by a secret staircase to the Papal Hall of

Audience, where the groom of the chambers then on duty requested him to wait. Soon afterwards Cardinal Alfonso Carafa also arrived, whereupon the Captain of the Papal Guard, Gabrio Serbelloni, appeared, and announced that they were both under arrest. While Alfonso obeyed in silence, Carlo cried out boldly: "This is the reward for my valuable services!". Both Cardinals were at once conducted by the secret passage to the Castle of St. Angelo.

The Governor of Rome and the Procurator-Fiscal proceeded at the same time, accompanied by numerous police, to the Palazzo Carafa in the Piazza Navona, where they presented the Duke of Paliano with a warrant for his arrest, and then took him also to the Castle of St. Angelo. The same morning similar treatment was given to all the intimates and particular friends of the two Cardinals. Among the associates of Carlo, this fate befell Cesare Brancaccio, his secretary, Urbino, his majordomo and four of his attendants, whilst among the intimates of Cardinal Alfonso, his secretary, Paolo Filonardo, and three other members of his household were arrested. The Count d'Alife and Leonardo di Cardine also fell into the hands of the police, but some few, such as the Bishop of Civita di Penna, Vico de' Nobili, and Matteo Stendardi, succeeded in escaping. The Marquis of Montebello was in Naples at the time. After the arrests, all the papers of the Carafa, even the ordinary housekeeping books, were seized; they filled seven or eight chests.

When the Florentine ambassador brought the news of the arrest of their two colleagues, of which he had been a witness, to the Cardinals assembled in the Hall of Consistories, there at once arose a murmuring and whispering, while astonishment and fear took possession of all present. Several, like Cardinal Vitelli, endeavoured to conceal their dismay, but Este and others did not hide their displeasure. When Pius IV at last appeared, it could clearly be seen from his expression how pleased he was that the affair had succeeded so well. The communication which he made to the Cardinals concerning what had taken place, was limited to a bare statement of facts. On the following day, however, he was all the more communicative to the ambassadors, Vargas and Tendilla, who had been invited to dine with him, the case being discussed both before and after the meal. The Pope set forth the crimes of the nephews of Paul IV in great detail, laying special stress on their scandalous and unjust attempt to stir up strife against Charles V. The two Spanish ambassadors were invited to convince themselves, by an examination of the documents, of the falsity of the accusations made at the time, especially of the intrigues set on foot by Cardinal Carafa, and of the purely imaginary plot of the Imperialists to poison Paul IV, by means of which the Pope was incited to break with Spain. The Pope also laid stress on the fact that Cardinal Carafa had, besides all this, been guilty of numerous murders, violations and other crimes; that Cardinal Alfonso had obtained possession of money and valuables at the time of the death of Paul IV by means of forged briefs; that the Duke of Paliano had committed atrocities, robberies and acts of injustice of every kind during his uncle's reign, and had murdered his wife during the vacancy in the Holy See. Such crimes must not remain unpunished. Pius IV expressed himself in a like manner to the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors.

The greater number of the Cardinals disapproved of the strong measures adopted by the Pope against two members of the Sacred College, from a feeling of esprit de corps. Carpi, Este, and Farnese were the most outspoken in expressing

their displeasure, and on various grounds. They, however, were almost alone in taking up this attitude. The Roman people, for the most part, were of opinion that, in view of the undoubted guilt of the Carafa, the Pope was thoroughly justified in proceeding thus severely against them; there was a feeling of universal joy that at last punishment was to overtake the family. The Carafa, writes Cardinal Truchsess, have many accusers, but few defenders. Cardinal Alfonso, whom most people considered innocent, was the only one to receive any sympathy, but the Romans were so filled with hatred for the other members of the family that they wished to light a bonfire on the Capitol, but this the Pope forbade. Outside the Eternal City, also, people learned with pleasure of the proceedings of Pius IV against the Carafa. In strictly religious circles, people saw in their imprisonment a well-deserved punishment from heaven for the grave injury they had inflicted on the Church.

The legal proceedings against the prisoners were entrusted to Girolamo de Federicis as Governor of Rome, and to the Procurator-Fiscal, Alessandro Pallantieri. Both were declared enemies of the Carafa, and they immediately set to work with the greatest zeal. Investigations were carried on not only in Rome, but also at Gallese and Naples; in the latter city, two chests of documents, which Cardinal Carafa had hidden there, were seized.

The opening of the arraignment, which was based upon an examination of the material that had been collected, took place, by means of a Papal Motu Proprio, on July 1st; a second Motu Proprio, that of July 5th, ordered that Cardinals Cesi, Cueva, Saraceni, Puteo, Cicada, Bertrand, Urbino and Cornaro should be present at the special inquiry and trial of the accused Cardinals, to watch over the proceedings, and to see that the proper judicial forms were observed. The inquiry itself was to be entirely in the hands of Federicis and Pallantieri. The notary associated with them was Luys de Torres, a Spaniard of the confraternity of S. Girolamo della Carità, who had the interests of the accused at heart.

The principal crimes to be laid to the charge of the Duke of Paliano were the murders of Capece and the Duchess, while Cardinals Carlo and Alfonso were accused of having promoted the cruel proceedings against Violante by consent or incitement. Cardinal Carlo was also accused of several murders which belonged in part to the time of his life as a soldier, but above all, of having, while he was the director of the policy of Paul IV, induced that Pope, as well as France, by means of falsehood and deceit, to wage the unhappy war against Spain. All three accused were also charged with having been guilty of great frauds in the administration of the States of the Church. Carlo and the Duke would also have to answer for grave misuse of their authority, especially in the administration of justice, and Cardinal Alfonso for unlawful personal enrichment at the time of the death of Paul IV.

The trial of the accused began in the Castle of St. Angelo on July 8th, and lasted for fully three months. While Cardinal Alfonso was collected and calm from the first, Carlo Carafa displayed all his old arrogance. He was still hoping for help from the Spanish king, whose ambassador, Francisco Vargas, came forward as his staunch friend. This, however, could avail him very little, since Vargas, by his importunate and provocative manner, had made himself very unpopular with the

Pope. The French ambassador interested him-self on behalf of the Duke of Paliano, whom Vargas had deserted.

The confidence of Carlo Carafa in the Spanish king was by no means justified, but all the more zealous were the efforts of Vargas on his behalf. This diplomatist, to whom Pius IV had, just at that time, on a certain occasion, markedly shown his disfavour, met with no success, as Cardinal Carafa answered all questions merely by protests and denials. As to his actions before the time of his cardinalate, he appealed to the brief of absolution of Paul IV, and for his later acts to the article of the election capitulation, which only allowed a prosecution at law of a Cardinal, in cases of heresy, schism or high treason. His attitude was as full of challenge as if he had been one of the judges, instead of a prisoner on his trial.

The position of Carlo Carafa was much aggravated by the discovery in July of some very compromising documents concerning his relations with the Turks and the Lutheran Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg. A Motu Proprio of July 18th decreed that the case now fell under the head of heresy. Ghislieri was now added to the number of the Cardinals acting as assessors, but in consequence of his protracted absence from Rome, he took no actual part in the trial.

The report that Carlo Carafa would be forced to a confession by means of torture was repeatedly current in the Curia, but nothing more was done than to make his imprisonment more rigorous in the last week of July. Till then he had had two rooms at his disposal, and had been allowed to receive numerous visits. These privileges were now withdrawn. He then sought to obtain a mitigation of his imprisonment by feigning illness, but the Papal physician, Simone Pasqua, who was sent to him, soon discovered that it was only a case of pretence. This appears to have somewhat broken down the obstinacy of the prisoner. The Venetian ambassador reports on August 24th: "The process, which the Pope has more at heart than anything else, is being carried on with the greatest zeal; interrogations of the prisoners take place every day, morning and evening; the authenticity of the handwriting and seal of Albert of Brandenburg have been proved, whereupon Cueva has advised Carafa to give up lying, to acknowledge his guilt, throw himself on the mercy of the Pope, and think of the salvation of his soul." Carafa, as we are informed by Mula, now caused Pius IV to be informed that as a man of the world and a soldier, he had been guilty of many things, but that he cast himself upon his mercy, and that he had not even the means of providing for his bare support. The answer of Pius IV was to the effect that he was now suffering nothing which he had not brought upon himself, that he could promise him nothing, but that he would take care that he did not come to want.

The Cardinal suffered no torture, either owing to the fact that it was considered impossible to force him by that means to an admission of his guilt, or because, which is much more likely, several of the Cardinals, especially Cueva, protested against such a procedure. The prisoner again took courage when he escaped torture, and still hoped that the King of Spain would save him. In Rome, where the case of the Carafa had been the great topic of the day, interest in the long drawn- out trial gradually began to flag.

Only at the end of September did the special enquiry approach its end. The documents were copied and a special envoy was to convey a full summary to Philip II. The results of this special enquiry were as follows: Cardinal Alfonso Carafa appears to have enriched himself in an unlawful manner, at the expense of the Holy See, at the time of the death of Paul IV, and to have had a brief drawn up in his favour without the dying Pope having been aware of the matter. Moreover, he was accused of having approved of the murder of the Duchess of Paliano. This dreadful act was the principal accusation against the Duke of Paliano, Lionardo di Cardine, and the Count d'Alife. The greatest number of accusations, no fewer than twenty-two, were those brought against Carlo Carafa. Everything had been collected, and investigations made as far back as his earliest years.

Carlo Carafa protested against any inquiries being made concerning the crimes of his life as a soldier; he appealed to the brief of absolution which Paul IV had given him before his appointment as Cardinal. It was more difficult for him to defend himself against those other accusations which belonged to the time of his cardinalate, especially that of the attempted murder of Domenico de' Massimi. No guilt could be proved against him as to the murder of Capece; this concerned only the Duke of Paliano and his two accomplices. It was otherwise, however, with regard to the murder of the Duchess as to this it was clearly proved that Carlo had been an accessory, still, however crushing the proofs adduced might be, he obstinately entrenched himself against them by systematic lying. Further accusations were to the effect that Carlo had been guilty of heresy. The incidents adduced against him from the time of his life as a soldier were of no account in this respect, but authentic documents proved the relations of the Cardinal with the Protestant Margrave, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg. Carlo had to admit them, but maintained that in this case, as well as in his dealings with the Turks, he had only acted as the tool of his uncle. He made use of a similar defence with regard to other political accusations, which laid the blame for the whole of the blunders of Paul IV upon his shoulders. All this was, however, of no avail; although eight items of the prosecution were withdrawn in the course of the investigation, there still remained fourteen, and those the gravest, to be answered. The root of the accusation lay in the wicked and repeated misuse of his official position in the field of politics, as well as his conduct in the murder of Violante. On the ground of a similar misuse of his political influence, the Duke of Paliano was also accused of having been guilty of high treason. The fact that this aspect of the case was emphasized, caused the whole proceedings to become a political trial, with a very decided bias.

The choice of prejudiced judges effected the rest, and thus it may well have happened that crimes were attributed to the accused of which they were innocent. With justice did Cardinal Carafa protest against the charge that he had kept the secret agreement of Cave from his uncle's knowledge, nor was it true when the Procurator Fiscal represented Paul IV as having always been a peaceably disposed Pope. It was certainly unjust to attribute the whole responsibility for the war-like policy against Spain to Carafa. Nevertheless, a great part of the blunders of those days could be traced to him, and it was he, too, who had made war inevitable; while Paul IV was following out idealistic aims, it is beyond doubt that his nephew was principally animated by selfish motives. Yet, however great may have been the influence exercised by the prejudice of the judges during the trial, and

although Cardinal Carafa may have been accused of things of which he was innocent, or only partly guilty, there still remained enough to justify very strict measures being taken against him.

On October 5th a copy of the reports of the trial was conveyed to Cardinal Carafa. In such cases the law required that prisoners on trial should have twenty days to prepare their defence, a period which might be extended by fifteen, and again by ten days more. For this purpose a copy of the minutes of the proceedings must be given them. The prisoners were also allowed to hold conversations, not only with their defenders, but also with their friends, and to arrange for further examinations of witnesses; all this, however, must be done in the presence of a notary.

Among the advocates of the Carafa there was in the first place the celebrated Marcantonio Borghese, who had also skilfully defended Cardinal Morone against the accusations of the Inquisition. Besides him, others were also appointed, of whom the Neapolitan, Felice Scalaleone, appears to have been the most active and fearless. The detailed legal opinions in which these jurists elucidated the accusations brought against the Carafa are still in existence; ten of them deal with the defence of each of the two Cardinals, and eight others with that of the Duke of Paliano. The easiest defence was that of Cardinal Alfonso; the most that could be proved against him was that he had kept silence at the murder of the Duchess Violante, the enrichment after the death of Paul IV not having overstepped the limits of what was usual in such cases.

As far as the political accusations made against Carlo Carafa were concerned, whereby he had jeopardized the highest interests of the Church, the efforts of the defence were concentrated upon proving that the Cardinal, as the chief minister of Paul IV, had only carried out the Pope's intentions, great stress being also laid upon the extraordinarily wide authority, free from all control, which "from time immemorial" had been granted to a cardinal nephew. This point, as well as others upon which the defence laid much stress, was open to discussion, but all their skill did not succeed in absolving Carlo from the guilt of having been an accessory to the murder of the Duchess of Paliano. Extenuating circumstances, especially the exaggerated ideas of honour prevalent in Naples, were brought forward on behalf of the Duke, both for this and for the murder of Capece, the guilt of Violante being taken for granted, though it was by no means proved.

The advocates were not the only persons who were working for the prisoners, several members of the Sacred College taking up their case, as for example, Carpi, who, on October 25th, at the beginning of the consistory, raised a great many objections to the proceedings against the Carafa, and loudly demanded justice. Pius IV defended his action in excited words. Again, when Cosimo I came to Rome, and had long secret conversations with the Pope, the affair of the Carafa is certain to have been discussed. On November 10th Francesco Tonina definitely informed the Duke of Mantua that Cosimo had interceded for the prisoners. In Rome many people believed that on this account the trial would end in their favour. This view, however, soon proved to be erroneous. The defence of the Duke of Paliano against the accusation of wife-murder, made by his advocate on November 16th, before the Pope and the

appointed Cardinals, was a complete failure. On November 23rd it was an open secret that the attempts to remove the prejudiced Federicis from the conduct of the case had proved ineffectual. The wife of Cosimo is reported to have said, on her departure from Rome, that she was leaving the city in order not to be present at the tragedy of the Carafa. On December 14th, Francesco Tonina reported, on the strength of a conversation with the Procurator Fiscal, Pallantieri, that the decision was imminent; twelve notaries were engaged in copying extracts from the minutes of the trial, so that these could be handed to each Cardinal; after Christmas two congregations of Cardinals would be held in order to decide the sentence which would be pronounced upon the Cardinal and the Duke by the Pope himself, and upon the others by the Governor.

Tonina was very well informed, for the congregations he speaks of were held in the second week of January, 1561. The Pope, who devoted from three to four hours daily to the study of the minutes of the trial, again gave audience to the advocates of the Carafa; the latter appeared to be very much depressed, and people in general looked for a result unfavourable to the prisoners, even to the Cardinal; banishment for life at the least seemed to be his fate. Owing to his long imprisonment, Carlo Carafa was hardly in a position to continue the payment of his necessary subsistence, as he, like all other prisoners of this class, had to support himself. A Mantuan correspondent gives details of the miserable condition of this once so proud and tyrannical family, and recalls the arrogance of the Cardinal during the recent conclave.

At a consistory on January 15th, 1561, the Procurator Fiscal, Pallantieri, reported the conclusion of the proceedings, and begged the Pope to order the Governor of the city to present his final report, at the next consistory, as to the crimes of which the accused had been found guilty as a result of the investigation : sentence would then follow. Pius IV agreed and ordered that no other matter should be placed upon the agenda for the consistory, in view of the probable length of the report. Almost two whole months passed before this meeting was held; the reason for the delay is to be found in the letters which the Duke of Paliano addressed to the Pope from his prison in the Tor di Nona.

The first of these letters is dated January 17th, 1561. In it the Duke begs for mercy for his young children, and at the same time makes certain revelations which he had hitherto concealed out of consideration for his brothers. These admissions concern the beginning of the conflict of Paul IV with the Imperialists, the suit against the Colonna, and, above all, the tragedy at Gallese. The Duke confesses as follows: "If I remember correctly, the letter brought to me by Captain Vico de' Nobili, contained the expression that the Cardinal had said that he would no longer acknowledge me as his brother if I did not clear myself from shame by means of the death of the Duchess. I showed this letter to Leonardo de Cardena, and we decided between ourselves that he should murder the Duchess at Sant' Eutichio, on the road from Gallese to Soriano. When Don Leonardo arrived at Soriano he found the Count d' Alife there, who was himself just on the point of carrying out the deed, but he prevented him from doing so. They then sent Bernardino Olario to me, to whom I made answer as is recorded in my first examination. I might have forbidden it, but said that I wanted to have nothing to do with the matter. It was my own wish to wait for my wife's confinement, and what I said was with the object of delaying the deed. Nevertheless, the Duchess

was killed. When I learned of her death I was exceedingly grieved, and wept bitterly. In order to find consolation I sent to my painter, by name Moragna, a Spaniard living at Viterbo, and commissioned him to send the father, Fra Pietro, to me at Soriano, where I lay ill. The father came, and I excused myself to him for the death of the Duchess by saying that my honour in the eyes of the world had caused me to consent. What now follows, I do not say to justify myself, but only in the interests of truth. I had not ordered the death of the Duchess, but wished everyone to believe that I had allowed it to take place, merely out of consideration for my honour. I speak freely here, and not as one who is before a court of law; may this be held in my favour." The Duke also represented his brother as guilty in the matter of the galleys. In a second letter, dated February 6th, he gave yet further details concerning this affair and the law-suit against the Colonna, and here, likewise, he attributed all the guilt to the promptings of his brother. In this letter, signed merely with the name "Giovanni Carafa" no further allusion is made to the murder of the Duchess. According to a report of Mula, the Duke, completely broken down by his eight months imprisonment, is even said to have expressed a wish that his obstinate brother, who still denied everything, should be forced to a confession by torture. As a matter of fact, the instruments of torture were actually taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, but even this did not intimidate Carlo Carafa ; his assertions grew bolder and more arrogant than ever.

The second letter had hardly reached the hands of the Pope when another event occurred. During the night between February 7th and 8th, Cardinal Scipione Rebiba, who had enjoyed the special confidence of Paul IV, was arrested. He was accused of having grossly neglected his duty during his legation in the year 1556 by not having continued his journey to Brussels, of having extorted a brief concerning certain benefices from the dying Pope, and of having been accessory to the murder of the Duchess of Paliano, by sanctioning the proceedings of Carlo Carafa. This new arrest caused the greatest sensation. Four members of the College of Cardinals were now in the Castle of St. Angelo, and it was expected that yet other Cardinals and prelates who had played an important part under Paul IV would be called to account. On February 21st it was reported that the advocates of the Carafa had appeared before the Pope and the Cardinals and had spoken with them for several hours. They complained bitterly of the biased conduct of the Procurator Fiscal and the Governor. Thereupon the Pope decided to go through the documents once more, saying that he wished to temper justice with mercy. The Duke of Paliano was, in the meantime, again brought from the Tor di Nona to the Castle of St. Angelo, evidently that he might be confronted with his brother. It was at once rumoured that two of the guards had been arrested, and it occasioned a still greater sensation when soldiers were secretly concentrated in the city.

In these days of excitement the great creation of Cardinals took place which was connected with the fall of the Carafa. For a long time there had been talk of an increase of the Sacred College, and this took place quite unexpectedly on February 26th, 1561. No less than eighteen Cardinals were appointed, among them such excellent men as Girolamo Seripando, Stanislaus Hosius, Ludovico Simonetta, Marcantonio Mula and Bernardo Navagero. These received the purple in connection with the Council; in the case of the others, considerations of another kind led to their elevation. The appointments of Bernardo Salviati, and of the French ambassador, Babou de la Bourdaisiere, were made to please the



French government, while the elevation of Inigo de Avalos de Aragon and of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle testified to a desire to please Philip II. It is very remarkable that Cosimo I only succeeded in getting a very distant relative, the Spaniard, Francisco Pacheco, appointed. The lion's share in the creation was carried off by the party of the Gonzaga, who were inimical to the Carafa. Besides the nephew of Cardinal Ercole, the twenty-four-year-old Francesco Gonzaga, the following received the purple on February 26th: Ludovico Madruzzo, Luigi d'Este and the Pope's nephew, Mark Sittich von Hohenems, as well as Alfonso Gesualdo and Pier Francesco Ferreri, then nuncio in Venice, who were related to the Pope's nephew. On the other hand, however, the opponents of Gonzaga, the Farnese, who were so powerful owing to their connection with the court of Philip, received due consideration. Their interests were already served by the appointment of Granvelle and Inigo de Avalos, but in addition to these, the new Cardinals, Girolamo da Correggio and the Bishop of Brescia, Francesco Gambara, were also among their faithful adherents.

On February 27th, 1561, the last period allowed by the law of those days to the prisoners for their further defence, had expired. When the Pope went to the consistory on that date an advocate of the Carafa cast himself at the feet of His Holiness and begged for mercy for his clients. The answer of Pius IV was to the effect that he had better get out of his way. At that time, as the Pope expressed it, there were four capital C's which gave him great anxiety: the Cardinals, the Carafa, the Council, and the Colonna.

There now remained only one hope for the Carafa: the intervention of the Spanish king. Cardinal Carafa had counted on him from the first, all the more so as all the time Vargas had remained his firm friend. When the whole world had abandoned the unhappy man, the ambassador had only held the more faithfully to him. He even dared, in covert terms, to reproach his king for his reserve, but now, as at first, Philip took refuge in silence. The way in which he determined his attitude is evident from the significant words which he wrote to Tendilla on August 11th, 1560. In these he expresses the impatience with which he was awaiting the arrival of Santa Croce, who had started from Rome on July 14th, so that he might know what attitude he had better adopt, as, however anxious he might be to please the Pope, it would not be good policy on his part altogether to abandon Cardinal Carafa, lest he should be accused of ingratitude. It was evident that the king did not wish to commit himself prematurely. Santa Croce disclosed to Philip II, in the name of Pius IV, that Raverta had gone too far in his recommendation of the Carafa, and that the Pope had been unable to communicate his real views concerning the family to the Spanish court, as the nuncio, as well as Vargas, were adherents of the nephews of Paul IV. Santa Croce had also brought with him, from the minutes of the proceedings against the Carafa, a collection of the criminal statements and calumnies of which Carlo Carafa had made use in order to cause deadly enmity between Paul IV, Charles V and Philip II. The further documents, relating to Carlo's negotiations with the Protestants and the Turks for the overthrow of the Hapsburgs were sent after Santa Croce, as he was already on his way.

Philip II could now throw aside his reserve, and give free play to his old vindictiveness against Cardinal Carafa without any danger to himself, although there were still reasons why he should not make his real intentions quite public.

Vargas received orders on September 5th, 1560, to moderate his zeal for the prisoners, and he submitted to the wishes of his master, writing to him, however, on January 5th, 1561, that he had obeyed his instructions, but that His Majesty, by failing to do anything for the Carafa, was committing a grave error.

This had not escaped Philip himself, and several of his letters testify to the painful state of embarrassment in which he found himself. If he requited the services of the Cardinal during the conclave by completely abandoning him, not only would his reputation be endangered, but his interests as well, for the prospects of Cardinal Gonzaga obtaining the tiara would thereby be greatly furthered. In the end Philip acted in accordance with the advice of the Farnese; he left the secular members of the house of Carafa to their fate, and interceded only for the life of the Cardinal. This he did by means of an autograph letter written to the Pope on February nth, 1561, from Toledo, which reached Rome on Saturday, March 1st. The consistory at which the decision was to be made was fixed for Monday, March 3rd, the letter of intercession thus arriving almost at the last moment. It came, however, in time to give, to the uninitiated, the appearance that the king was protecting the Cardinal, but much too late to make the Pope withdraw from the course he had already entered upon. When Vargas handed him the letter on March 2nd, Pius IV answered in general terms that he declined to postpone the consistory. The consistory therefore took place on March 3rd as arranged, and lasted for eight hours. The Governor, by order of the Procurator Fiscal, presented a summary of the minutes of the proceedings against Cardinal Carlo Carafa, the Duke of Paliano, the Count d'Alife, and Lionardo di Cardine, which took seven hours to read out, and demanded the condemnation of the accused. The enumeration of the offences made a deep impression, and many Cardinals who had intended to say a word in favour of Alfonso or Carlo Carafa remained silent. Este alone endeavoured to refute the accusation concerning the alliance made with France, a thing which he understood perfectly. After the minutes of the case had been read out, the Pope handed to the Governor a sealed roll of paper, which was only to be opened by special order, with the words that he was pronouncing the final sentence. Thereupon Cardinals Carpi, Farnese, Este, Crispi and Savelli arose, begging the Pope not to show the extremity of severity, and to have consideration for the dignity of the Sacred College. Their pleading bore as little fruit as did a new attempt on the part of Vargas to induce Pius IV to show clemency. The final step was taken on March 4th, when the sealed roll was opened in the presence of the advocates; this contained the sentence of death on Cardinal Carlo Carafa, the Duke of Paliano, the Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine. In any case all four had deserved death on account of the murder of the Duchess, but the justice of the other accusations, especially that of high treason against Giovanni and Capo Carafa, is open to doubt. The estates of the condemned were to be confiscated.

When the sentence of death was communicated to Cardinal Carafa, he did not say a word ; his companions in misfortune were taken from the Castle of St. Angelo back to the Tor di Nona. The Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine were overcome by despair, and the Capuchins who were sent to them had a hard task. On the other hand, Giovanni Carafa was quite composed; he had long given up all hope, and had prepared himself for death by retreats with the Jesuit, Peruschi. These spiritual exercises had completely changed the unhappy man; religion gave him such power that he went joyfully to his death, because it was for him the way

of his salvation. With crucifix in hand, the Duke prepared his two companions for their fate, addressing such beautiful Christian words to them that it seemed as if he were only fulfilling the office of a consoler, and not himself about to be executed.

One cannot but read the letters which Carafa addressed in his last hours to his sister and his only son, Diomede, with deep emotion. "Praised be the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, for all eternity," he says in the letter to his son. "This paper contains, I believe, the last words and advice I shall be able to address to you in this life I pray God that they may be such as a father should address to his only son. As the first and most necessary thing, I must bring to your recollection that in all your dealings and inclinations you must prove yourself a true servant of God, and show that you love His Divine Majesty far above yourself, and set aside your own pleasure, satisfaction and will, in order not to offend your Creator and Redeemer, even though you were promised worldly greatness, honour and happiness. If you follow this good and necessary rule of conduct, everything else that you do will be well and honourably accomplished. As you must be faithful, after God, to the prince whom He has set over us, then serve the Majesty of the Catholic King, as becomes a true and honourable Christian knight. Flee from sin as it engenders death; choose rather to die than imperil your soul; be the enemy of vice; seek after honourable and pious company; go often to confession; receive frequently the holy sacraments, which are the medicine of the soul, destroy sin, and preserve man in the grace of God; have compassion on the misery of others; practise works of piety, and flee from idleness, and from conversations and pursuits which are not fitting for you; take pains to acquire some knowledge of science and letters, for these are very necessary for a true nobleman, especially for one who has power and vassals, as well as to be able to enjoy the sweet fruits of the Holy Scriptures, which are so precious for both soul and body. If you savour such fruits, then you will despise the things of this sorrowful world, and find no small consolation in the present life. I wish you to show indomitable courage at my death, not behaving like a child, but as a reasonable man, and not listening to the promptings of the flesh, or to the love of your father, or to the talk of the world. For your consolation, ponder well the fact that whatever happens is ordained by the decrees of the great God, Who rules the universe with infinite wisdom, and, as it appears to me, shows me great mercy by taking me hence in this manner, rather than in any other way, for which I always thank Him, as you also must do. May it only please Him to exchange this my life for that other, the false and deceitful for the true. Do not be troubled by whatever people may say or write; say to everyone: My father is dead, because God has shown him great grace, and I hope He has saved him, and granted him a better existence. Therewith I die, but you shall live, and bear no one ill-will of my death."

While Giovanni Carafa was writing these lines, the Captain of the military police, Gasparino de Melis, proceeded to the prison of Cardinal Carafa in the Castle of St. Angelo. When he appeared, accompanied by torchbearers, in the antechamber of the Cardinal's cell, he was told that the prisoner was asleep. When the Captain declared that, in spite of this, he must enter, the door was opened. Carafa awoke, raised himself, and asked what was wanted. The sentence of death had already been announced to him on the previous day, but he did not believe that it would ever be carried out. When he now learned that there was no longer any hope, he repeated more than ten times: "I am to die! The Pope wishes that I

should die!" Gasparino had difficulty in making the unhappy man understand that the hour of his death had now irrevocably arrived, and that only a short time remained to him to go to confession, and make his final arrangements. With the sorrowful cry: "I, who have admitted nothing, am to die!" the Cardinal at length arose and dressed. The biretta was refused to him, and thereby he knew that he was deposed from his rank as Cardinal Deacon. "O ungrateful Pius!" he cried, "O King Philip! thou hast betrayed me!" Then a priest, belonging to a religious order, who had been appointed to hear his confession, entered : it lasted for an hour. After this Carafa seemed calmer; he had all the attendants brought in, and called upon them to witness that he forgave the Pope, the King of Spain, the Governor, the Procurator Fiscal, and all his enemies. After he had said the seven penitential psalms, he courageously offered his neck to the executioner. When the latter drew the knot, the rope broke; another was taken, which also broke, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the executioner was able to complete his work. The body of Cardinal Carafa, who was aged only forty-two years, was then taken to the still unfinished church of S. Maria Traspontina, near the Castle of St. Angelo.

Gasparino de Melis, with the executioner, hurried away from the body of Cardinal Carafa to the Tor di Nona. He found the Duke of Paliano, with the Count d'Alife and Lionardo di Cardine, in the chapel, where, assisted by a Jesuit, they were preparing for death. Their Christian resignation, and their real contrition moved even the Brothers of the Misericordia who were present, though they were used to such scenes. The scaffold was erected in the courtyard of the prison, and while prayers were being said for them, the three guilty men suffered death. Their bodies were publicly exposed on the morning of March 6th in the neighbouring square, near the Ponte Sant Angelo. The decapitated body of the Duke lay on a little bier, which was covered with a black, gold-embroidered cloth, beside the statue to the Apostle St. Paul at the entrance to the bridge; at his right, on the ground, on miserable rags, lay his brother-in-law, and at his left, Lionardo di Cardine. Only in the evening were the bodies, like those of ordinary criminals, taken by the Brothers of the Misericordia to S. Giovanni Decollato, and finally buried in the church of the Minerva, in the family chapel of the Annunciata. The body of Cardinal Carafa was also taken later to this church, and buried in the same chapel.

A light placed on the summit of the Castle of St. Angelo informed Pius IV of the carrying out of the sentence; his severity caused terror on every side. Many in Rome blamed the Pope for having been too harsh; it was especially found fault with that the Cardinal had been put to death like the rest, and that the bodies of the three others, though they had deserved to die, should have been buried like ordinary criminals. For several days fears were entertained for the lives of the three other Cardinals who were still in the Castle of St. Angelo, but the representative of Cosimo I learned on March 17th that they would be pardoned.

The youthful, and absolutely innocent Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, aroused great sympathy, and for him the King of Spain, the Viceroy of Naples, and the Duke of Florence interceded. Alfonso was completely broken down. He promised everything they asked; renunciation of the gifts of Paul IV, and of the office of President of the Apostolic Camera, as well as the payment of a fine of 100,000 gold scudi. On March 24th his pardon was decided on, and on April 4th he was

released from the Castle of St. Angelo. A bull of Pius IV suppressed the office of President of the Apostolic Camera, and Cardinal Alfonso had to confirm this in writing. In secret, however, he drew up protests against this, as well as against all the other things which he had been made to promise. On October 10th, 1561, he again appeared, to the great joy of everyone, in the consistory. When, in August, 1562, fresh suspicion fell upon Alfonso, through the discovery of a letter of Cardinal du Bellay, he thought it advisable to retire to his archdiocese of Naples, where he died, worn out by grief, on August 29th, 1565, aged only twenty-four years.

The Duke of Florence had also interceded for Cardinal del Monte, Cardinals Ricci and Cicada likewise taking up his cause; the former, indeed, was very active on his behalf. Nevertheless, the decision of his case was very long delayed. It was rumoured in July, 1561, that del Monte had been condemned to pay a fine of 100,000 scudi, and was only to be released on the condition that he should forfeit his Cardinal's hat at the first offence. His release was delayed until the autumn. He had to promise to improve his manner of life, to pay the fine and give up his benefices. He was banished to Tivoli and two Jesuits were sent to labour for his conversion.

Cardinal Rebiba, for whose life his friends trembled even at the end of October, 1561, was only set at liberty on January 31st, 1562. The whole College of Cardinals had interceded for him. He was again allowed to take part in the consistory in March.

Philip II benefited greatly by the downfall of the Carafa; in May, 1561, a bull was expressly issued to protect him against the serious allegations made against him by Cardinal Carafa in the time of Paul IV. The king's attitude during the whole tragedy, had been of such a nature that he attained his object of destroying his old enemies without committing himself on either side. His share in the fall of the nephews of Paul IV remained the secret of but few people, but the Spanish king had been able to keep himself free from all odium by interceding at the last moment for Cardinal Carlo, again by co-operating in the release of Cardinal Alfonso, and lastly by affording the Marquis of Montebello and the son of the Duke of Paliano a refuge in Naples. The circumstance that he had persisted in leaving Vargas, the faithful friend of the Carafa, in spite of the strong wishes of the Pope, in his position as ambassador in Rome, was calculated to dispel any suspicion that he had been acting in concert with Pius IV.

The Spanish king proved equally sagacious in the delicate question as to what was to be done with the possessions of the condemned men; the same cannot be said of the attitude adopted by Pius IV with regard to this matter.

As the Carafa had been condemned to death, not only for the murder of the Duchess of Paliano, but also expressly for high treason and felony, their inheritance fell to the Apostolic Camera. Justifying his action on this fact, the Pope seized for his nephews, not only the movable goods of the Carafa, but also their claims in law. Paliano was only to be handed over to the Colonna when Philip II had granted to the Pope's nephews the same annual revenues as had formerly been promised to the Carafa! Philip at first made difficulties; he demanded the immediate enfeoffment of Colonna, and wished the sums paid to

the relatives of Pius IV to be treated as a favour, but in no sense as an obligation imposed upon him by any agreement. This painful affair, in which Pius IV appears as an only too greatly interested party, was not settled until the spring of 1562. After the Pope's nephews had been satisfied, the restoration of Paliano to the Colonna took place on July 17th, 1562, and it remained henceforth in their hands. The former political power, however, of the family had disappeared, and their wealth had also been seriously diminished. In order to enable Marcantonio to liquidate the immense burden of debt which he found in existence, the Pope dissolved for him the entail, with the result that Nemi was sold to the Piccolomini, Citta Lavinia and Ardea to the Cesarini, and Capranica, Ceciliano, Pisciano and S. Vito to the Massimi.

“An unheard of affair, and an example of Divine justice that one should always have before one's eyes”—so wrote Seripando in his journal after he had heard of the execution of the Carafa. The scandalous administration of the family during the period of their unlimited power under Paul IV, was still so fresh in the memory of the people, that many thought no punishment could be too severe, while they shut their eyes to the injustice and tyranny which had been displayed during the trial, and the political interests and the personal hatred which had played their part in it. Pius IV himself, does not appear to have realized that, conducted by such bitter enemies of the Carafa as Federicis and Pallantieri, the trial was bound to be of a thoroughly prejudiced character. Onofrio Panvinio relates that Pius IV had himself said to him that nothing in his whole life had been so difficult for him, or had saddened him so much, as this sentence of death; he would gladly have shown mercy had this been possible without breaking the laws, or if there had been any hope that the Carafa would change their manner of life. Finally, the Pope added that he had also been obliged to show severity in order to give a warning to the relatives of future Popes, so that they might not misuse their great position as the Carafa had done. The explanations which Pius IV gave to the Imperial ambassador on March 14th, 1561, and which he again repeated later, as in the consistory on June 8th, 1565, and again a few months before his death, on October 12th, 1565, are in accordance with Panvinio's statement.

The manner in which Pius IV justified himself for his action against the Carafa can be clearly seen from these explanations. He wished, not only to punish their crimes, but also to stigmatize the whole system. The judgment of March 3rd, 1561, was a deadly blow aimed at that form of nepotism which consisted in founding principalities; it condemned not only the Carafa, but also the Borgia, Medici and Farnese. There was now an end to the elevation of the Pope's relatives to the rank of sovereign princes. The founding of such states for the Papal nephews had only too often poisoned the political activity of the Holy See since the time of Sixtus IV, and had paralysed its efforts for reform. Paul IV, after he had learned during the last years of his reign to what nepotism might lead, had banished the nephews whom his successor had now destroyed. This was of inestimable value for the success of the Catholic reformation. The warning was efficacious. From this time forward the efforts of the Papal relatives were limited to securing riches, honours, and great positions, and to becoming the equals of the old noble Roman families. This weakened form of nepotism was, of course, grave enough, but it was, nevertheless, far less dangerous for the Church.

CHAPTER V.

Negotiations for the Reopening of the Council of Trent.

The most important, as well as the most difficult task which the election capitulation had imposed on the new Pope was the question of the Council, the means by which a stand was to be made against the divisions in the faith and the abuses in ecclesiastical affairs. It was not yet decided whether the Council, which had been suspended in 1552, should be continued, or a new one convoked, nor had anything been decided as to the time and place of meeting. It was not advisable to raise all these critical questions prematurely, and it was therefore considered sufficient to give expression, in general terms, to the desire of the best elements in the Church.

As to the question whether the Council of Trent should be continued or a new one convoked, the most conflicting views were held. While the Protestants, without exception, demanded that everything that had been decided hitherto should be revoked, and matters gone into again from the beginning, strict Catholics insisted, very logically, that the dogmatic decrees already issued were unchangeable and irrevocable, as were the canons of all other ecumenical councils. The latter view, which was represented most strongly among the secular powers by Philip II, was at first shared by the Emperor, Ferdinand I. He, however, allowed himself to be led away, later on, by consideration for the Protestants, and he took up their claim as his own. The French government acted in a similar manner, because their position with respect to the Huguenots was very similar to that of Ferdinand towards the German Protestants. Pius IV had, therefore, to be prepared beforehand for the gravest difficulties. In spite of this he was quite ready to give effect to the intentions of those who had elected him, with regard to the matter of the council. Only a few days after his election, on December 31st, 1559, he declared to the Imperial ambassador, Francis von Thurm, that it was his desire speedily to summon a general Council. He also insisted on his determination to do so to the Cardinals, in a Congregation on January 4th, 1560. He solemnly confirmed and renewed the election capitulation in a bull of January 12th. The appointment of a reform commission of fourteen Cardinals, of which Angelo Massarelli was made the secretary, clearly showed the wishes of the Pope with regard to the principal task of the Council. Pacheco reports to the Spanish king, as early as January 18th, that it was also the Pope's intention to confirm the earlier decrees of the Council of Trent.

The principal difficulty, now as on former occasions, was to secure unanimity of opinion among the most powerful Catholic rulers, the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, before the assembly of the Council.

The attitude of the Emperor, Ferdinand, at first gave reason to hope for the best. His ambassador extraordinary, Count Scipione d'Arco, who arrived in Rome in February, was commissioned to raise the question of the Council. Arco obeyed his orders, but at the ceremony of the *obedientia* on February 17th, 1560, he kept silence on this crucial matter, plainly out of consideration for the attitude adopted by the Protestant princes at the Imperial Diet of the preceding year. Pius IV expressed his wish to summon the Council to the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, over and over again. "He repeatedly proposes to do so," wrote Vargas on February 25th, "and yesterday he assured me in the presence of eight Cardinals, that as soon as Your Majesty, the Emperor, and the King of France were of one mind on this matter, he would decide as to the time and place." In this conversation the Pope also gave the assurance that he was not thinking of holding the Council in Rome, but in some suitable place whither the heretics could come, so that their want of good-will could be plainly seen if they did not accept the invitation. At the *obedientia* ceremony on March 9th, 1560, of the envoy of the Polish King, Adam Konarski, Prior of Posen, Pius IV remarked that he was thinking of summoning the Council, and he spoke still more plainly in the consistory of March 15th, when the embassy of the seven Catholic Swiss Cantons made their *obedientia*.

Obstacles on the part of Spain and France seemed all the less likely as those powers had already adopted an article concerning the Council at the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, in April, 1559. At the beginning of 1560 Philip II raised the question of the Council at the French court, where it was well received. When, however, the actual realization of the matter was taken in hand, the widely divergent political views and aims of the Catholic princes, and the conflict between the actual or supposed interests of the state with those of religion, became clearly apparent.

Even in the case of that power which was purely Catholic, and uninfluenced by domestic religious differences, even in the case of Spain, the interests of the Church occupied, at first, by no means the first place. It could not escape a keen observer that Philip II, whose policy was above all directed to procuring and preserving peace, feared fresh complications from a general council. He was afraid that the peace, which had only recently been concluded at Cateau-Cambresis, might be endangered, and Elizabeth of England so embittered against him that he might lose the position of arbiter between England and France in the Scottish question. The bringing forward, therefore, of the matter, did not appear opportune to the Spanish court, though, as the king was dependent on the good-will of the Pope in several other matters, he was exceedingly careful, at all events not to thwart him in the matter of the Council; at the same time, however, he showed no zeal for that important question, but, on the contrary, his efforts were directed to delaying any decision with regard to it, as long as possible.

This attitude of reserve on the part of the most important power in Europe must have warned the Pope to move very cautiously. The Bishop of Terracina, Ottaviano Raverta, when he was sent as nuncio to Spain on March nth, 1560, was simply commissioned to invite the king to support the Pope in once again convoking the Council. Hosius, who was sent to Vienna as nuncio at the end of March, was instructed to preserve an attitude of reserve in the matter of the Council. The Pope wished indeed to hold a General Council, but he could do nothing in the matter until the French and Spanish ambassadors had expressed



themselves with regard to it. Vargas informed Philip II on April 8<sup>th</sup> that the Pope had openly declared that he intended to hold a Council, and that he would proceed with its promulgation as soon as the Emperor, France and Spain were of one mind concerning it. On April 26<sup>th</sup> Francis von Thurm reported to the Emperor that he understood from trustworthy sources that the Pope would reopen and continue the Council at Trent, and that money was already being collected to ensure the carrying into effect of its future deliberations. The ambassador further states that Cardinals Morone and Madruzzo had begged him to ask the Emperor to urge on the Pope in the matter, and that he had replied that His Majesty had already done so through Count Arco, and that he himself would omit nothing that pertained to his office.

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, Jean Babou de la Bourdaisiere, the brother of the French, ambassador, made his *obedientia* in the name of Francis II. In his reply the Pope remarked that he had wished to hold the Council since the beginning of his reign, and that he now proposed to convoke it in the immediate future. He was soon led to adopt a more decided attitude, in the direction of a more speedy convocation of a General Council of the Church, being moved to this course by the disclosures which were made to him concerning the grave complications which had arisen in conditions in France. The decision of the French Council of State to convene a kind of national council of the members of the Gallican Church on December 10<sup>th</sup>, was reported to the Pope by Antonio Vacca. This decision was calculated to cause the greatest displeasure in Rome. The Popes had at all times, and with justice, considered a national council as quite inadequate for the removal of dogmatic disputes, and as being full of danger, on account of the risk of schism. Pius IV feared that, in view of the ferment then going on in France, and the leanings towards a national Church which prevailed there, such an assembly might lead to the falling away of that country from its obedience to the Holy See; besides this, there was the fact that the assembling of a General Council would thereby be rendered much more difficult. The Bishop of Viterbo, Sebastiano Gualterio, who was sent to France in the middle of May as the new nuncio, and who had previously filled that office in the latter days of Julius III, received strict instructions to prevent the assembly of the French clergy, and to declare that the Pope wished for a General Council.

How very much the Pope was alarmed at the danger threatening in France, and how it forced him to act in a decisive manner with regard to the Council without waiting any longer for the opinion of the powers, is clear from the reports of Mula, the Venetian ambassador in Rome. The Pope declared to him in the most definite terms on May 27<sup>th</sup>, that he was resolved to prevent the French national council by convoking a General Council, and that he intended to bring the matter before the Cardinals in a few days time, at a consistory, and that he would then acquaint the ambassadors with his decision. The suspension must be removed, and the Council of Trent continued. He desired to carry on the work of reform, even as to his own person and his own affairs, but also to safeguard the interests of the faith and of the Holy See. The Papal supremacy must not be infringed, but he was not disinclined to grant reasonable claims. Mula was specially instructed to make secret inquiries in Venice as to whether the government of the Republic would be prepared, in case of need, to place a suitable city in their territory, as for example Vicenza, at his disposal for the meeting of the Council.

The declarations made by Pius IV in the consistory on May 29th were to a similar effect; two days later he again spoke on the subject to the Venetian ambassador, and amplified his previous statements. The Council, he said, should undertake the necessary work of reform, including his, the Pope's, own affairs, with complete freedom. In order that this freedom might be assured, it must not assemble at any place which, directly or indirectly, belonged to the States of the Church, but neither must it meet in the territory of heretics, where the bishops would not be in safety.

Pius IV addressed himself to Ferdinand I and Philip II in similar terms, and the instructions of Borromeo on May 25th and 26th, 1560, to the nuncios in Vienna and Madrid, had a very determined sound. The Pope, it is stated in the letter to Hosius, will anticipate the French national council by continuing the Council of Trent, which was only suspended, but never closed. Vargas, the representative of Philip II, received a similar declaration.

The solemn meeting of the ambassadors in the presence of the Pope, which had been announced, took place on June 3rd, 1560. The ambassador of the Emperor, and the representatives of Spain, Portugal, Florence and Venice, were present; the Polish envoy was absent on account of illness, as was the representative of France, on account of a dispute about precedence with the envoy of Philip II. The Pope's declaration struck a note that was as definite as could be : "We wish for the Council, We wish for it emphatically, and We wish it to be both free and general; did We not wish for it, the world would delay it for three or four years, on account of the difficulties as to the place. In order to avoid all disputes as to the place and the manner of holding the Council, it is best to continue it in Trent; later on it can be transferred, if necessary, to another and more suitable place, but it is impossible to spend more time in conferring upon that question now, for the progress of heresy, in almost every country of Christendom, makes immediate action necessary." The envoys might make this decision known to their princes by express messenger, and call upon them for their support. They have already been informed of it by the Pope but have not yet answered. Should the Pope, contrary to his expectations, meet with no response from the princes, his decision would nevertheless remain unaltered, especially as France was pushing forward a national council. In any case, he hoped for favourable replies, and also that the German princes would be present; he believed he could take it for granted that the Margrave of Brandenburg would attend. "Whatever is decided upon by the Council," the Pope concluded, "your princes must assist us in carrying out. We wish the Council to meet as soon as possible, and shall only wait for the replies of your princes before announcing it publicly, and sending the legates."

The desire of Pius IV to carry this important matter through, with the agreement of the Catholic powers, was thoroughly justified, for the Holy See would require strong support during the Council, while the help of the civil powers would be necessary later on, for the carrying into effect of the measures decided upon.

The first satisfactory answer came from the Spanish government. Philip II had postponed a decision in his reply to the nuncio, Raverta, even as late as April 1st. At the beginning of May he yielded so far as to express his approval of the

convocation of the Council, but only on the condition that the Emperor should also approve. It was only when further news arrived from Rome and France that Philip finally resolved, in a plenary meeting of his privy council, to accept the Council unconditionally. Three days later he wrote to Vargas in Rome that, since a national council was being threatened in France, a thing which might have the gravest consequences, he gave his approval to the decision of the Pope to hold a general council. The agreement of France and the Emperor, however, was necessary. He was glad that the Pope would continue the Council at Trent, but the reform of abuses would have to be undertaken.

The answer of the French government was much less satisfactory, for the continuation of the Council was not at all in conformity with its policy. On June 20th Francis II sent the Abbot of Manne to Rome, who was to say that the King of France quite approved in principle of the decision of the Pope to summon a General Council, but that he must pronounce against its being held again at Trent, or being regarded as a continuation of the suspended Council, which had formerly been held there. The general assembly of the Church must on the contrary be convoked anew, and in a place to which one could feel sure that the Emperor and all the estates of the Empire, Protestant as well as Catholic, could repair. The opinion of the Emperor must be ascertained, to which the King of Spain must also submit himself. As everything depended on the calming of Germany, the French government recommended Constance in particular. The Abbot of Manne was also instructed to give tranquillizing assurances regarding the plan of a national council. He was, at the same time, to let it be understood that the prospect of such an assembly could only be given up if the Pope should proceed without delay to convene a general council in the sense desired by the French king.

The Emperor Ferdinand I had only given a general answer to the nuncio, Hosius, when the latter had first opened the subject of the Council on May 10th, reserving for a later date a decision as to the time and place. When the nuncio, after having received his instructions of May 18th, again approached the Emperor on June 3rd upon this important subject, he once more received an evasive reply. According to his report of June 5th, Hosius seems nevertheless to have received the impression that Ferdinand was agreeable that the Council, after the removal of the suspension, should again be summoned to Trent.

On the same day the privy council assembled at Vienna in order to come to a final decision upon the matter. Two Austrian statesmen, Georg Gienger, and the vice-chancellor of the Empire, Sigmund Seld, had the chief influence there, and they, like the great number of the Catholic estates of the Empire, held the false view that the decrees of Constance and Basle, which were inimical to the Pope, were lawful and valid, and that a reform of the Church could only be possible on this basis. The Emperor's councillors, as well as Duke Albert of Bavaria, who arrived in Vienna on June 8th, succeeded in making the most of a threatened invasion of the Imperial dominions by the Protestants, in order to prevent the Council desired by the Pope. Under the pressure of this threat, Ferdinand became more hesitating than ever. He who had encouraged the Pope in March, through Scipione d'Arco, to summon the Council as quickly as possible, now, when Pius IV wished to proceed energetically with the matter, did everything to keep him back. He gave his approval to a memorandum, drawn up by Gienger, to be handed to the nuncio, which made so many reservations, and set up so many claims,

which were, in part at any rate, quite impossible of fulfilment, that the proposal of Pius IV seemed to be altogether negatived.

In the introduction to this very comprehensive document, indeed, the Emperor approves of the Pope's decision, and he declares himself anxious for its immediate fulfilment. He then, however, goes on to explain that on account of the importance of the matter, and the differences of opinion among the Christian princes, a period of at least a year would be necessary for the preparation of the Council. The objections and difficulties, on the solution of which a successful issue depended, were set forth under six heads :

1. The war between France and England must be brought to an end, as general peace among the Christian princes is necessary for the holding and carrying out of a General Council.

2. The Pope must see that all the Christian powers, not only Spain, France, Portugal, Scotland, Poland and Venice, but also such kingdoms as have already fallen away from the Church, such as Denmark, Sweden, and England, are represented at the Council, and that all shall obtain a hearing. Stress is especially laid upon the difficulty of obtaining the participation of the Protestants, whose Onerous conditions, drawn up at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1559, are appended for general information. Forcible proceedings against the Protestants are not advisable, but the Emperor promises to do everything in his power to induce them to take pan in the Council.

3. The personal attendance of the Pope, whose absence was very prejudicial to the former assembly at Trent, is stated to be essential.

4. Doubts are expressed as to whether Trent should be chosen as the seat of the Council. The town is too small, and since the beginning of the schism a Council has always been needed in German territory. The most suitable place of all would be Cologne, and after that Ratisbon or Constance.

5. The Protestants declare that they were treated too severely and harshly at the Council of Trent; they did not receive the letter of safe-conduct in the desired form, and were not listened to sufficiently. As their participation can be obtained in no other way, all their wishes in this respect must be granted.

6. Great difficulties were created by the Pope's intention of continuing the former Council by removing the suspension. As far as the Emperor personally is concerned, he has not the slightest idea of calling in question the decrees drawn up by the Council, but a difficulty in the way of a continuation is the fact that the Protestants intend to place the matters already dealt with upon the agenda, and various Christian princes—the allusion is to France—will not acknowledge the former assembly as a General Council. Finally, reference is made to the fact that, instead of the two years for which the Council was suspended, eight have already elapsed.

Therefore, "as it is very evident how difficult the convocation of the Council is, as its progress must be slow, its results uncertain, and the carrying out of its decrees attended with much greater danger than was formerly the case," the Emperor advises the Pope to have recourse to other means for the preservation

of the Catholic faith, and the prevention of further defections. As such he would propose, before sum-moning a Council, a thorough reform of the clergy, and, in the meantime, to allow the laity the use of the chalice, and to give priests permission to marry.

To this document was attached a memorandum which once more briefly recapitulated the attitude of the Emperor towards the plan of the Council, and limited the concession of the chalice to the laity, and the marriage of priests to Germany. These two documents were handed to Hosius on June 20th. In the negotiations that followed, the latter proved himself by no means capable of fulfilling his duties. It would have been easy to show that the realization of several of the Emperor's requirements, such as the establishment of a general peace, and the participation of all the Christian powers, was really not in the Pope's power, and that others, such as the discussion anew with the Protestants of points of dogma, which had already been defined in a general council, meant nothing less than the overthrow of the Church; none of these points, however, were put forward by Hosius. His misgivings only concerned points of minor importance, such as several strong phrases or modes of expression, certain false arguments, the quotations from Scripture in favour of the marriage of priests, and in general the theological and biblical proofs upon which the proposed concessions were based. The Imperial statesmen made no difficulty about taking into consideration objections which left the essential points of the memorandum untouched. The document, altered in the sense demanded by Hosius, was handed to the nuncio by the Emperor on June 26th, and sent by the former on June 28th to Rome, where it arrived on the evening of July 12th. The Imperial ambassador in Rome, Count Prospero d'Arco, also received a copy of the document, as did Philip II of Spain.

The replies of the three principal Catholic powers arrived in Rome in the course of July, 1560. The Abbot of Manne was the first to deliver his letter, which he had received on July 4th. On July 10th Vargas and Tendilla presented the reply from their sovereign, dated June 18th. Pius IV expressed to the Spanish envoys his great joy at the decision of Philip II, in whom alone he had perfect confidence, and at the same time acquainted them with the answer of the French government. The Pope complained that the French, although they spoke of a general council, obviously did not want one. Their intention was to gain time by heaping up difficulties and making promises, so that eventually they might hold the national council they had spoken of. The Pope laid the answers of the French and Spanish governments before the Congregation of Cardinals as early as July 11th.

On July 14th the Imperial ambassador, Prospero d'Arco, had an audience in order to submit the views and requirements of Ferdinand, which had recently arrived from Vienna, to the Pope. The latter, who had already, as a Cardinal during the conclave, made known his inclination to grant concessions with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests, again showed himself on this occasion not disinclined to make such concessions, at the same time, however, expressing his doubts as to whether much would be gained by such a course. Such permissions, without the decision of a Council, also appeared to him to be of doubtful value, because difficulties might arise in consequence of them at the Council, and others might feel that they too could ask for further concessions independently of a Council. The Congregation of Cardinals, to which the Pope had

submitted the Emperor's reply of July 15th, also declared that the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests could only be granted by the Council. Arco, who reports this, adds that the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent is definitely wished for in Rome, and that he has it on good authority that if the Emperor agrees to this, the Pope will give him an assurance that the wished for concessions shall be made. Vargas reported to Philip II to the same effect on July 16th, and recommended his sovereign to adopt the same attitude. He thought that Ferdinand I and Francis II would give way later on, and represent to their subjects that the Pope had acted in the matter without their agreement. Pius IV, however, was not to be prevailed upon to come to a final decision without having an understanding with the two princes in question. He intended, before he did anything, to send Delfino as ambassador to the Emperor, to write to France, and to confer on the whole matter with Spain.

This policy, upon which Pius IV decided, affords another proof of his shrewdness as a statesman. In view of the critical position of the Church, he wished, above all things, to avoid any conflict with the great Catholic powers, and from this came his dread of cutting the Gordian knot. In order to bring about the assembly of the Council, in spite of all difficulties, he was most careful not to give offence to the princes, upon whom, in the first instance, everything depended, by any definite decision, or by too great plainness of speech. However firmly he was convinced of the necessity of a General Council, he nevertheless let as little as possible be known of the character of the new assembly, while he especially endeavoured to evade the important question of the validity of the decrees already issued. If he expressed himself on this point in different terms to the French ambassador from those he used to the representative of Spain, this did not mean that his opinion on this essential matter was not firm and clear, but that he desired to offend neither the one nor the other by making a categorical pronouncement; the powers were intended to receive the impression that he was ready to meet their wishes as far as possible. Even where he could make no concessions, as a matter of principle, he wished, at any rate in outward form, to accommodate himself as far as he could, to the claims made upon him.

Pius IV spoke most openly to Philip II, whose views really approached his own most closely. Prospero Santa Croce, who had been appointed nuncio in Portugal, was entrusted with the negotiations, and left Rome in the middle of July, 1560.

His instructions about the Council, contained, besides a number of other commissions, the following points: He was first of all to express to Philip II the exceeding joy of His Holiness at the royal letter of June 18th, and at the same time hand him copies of the very unsatisfactory answers of Ferdinand I and Francis II. The instructions emphasize the fact that, in spite of this, the Pope held firmly to his decision, and admonish Philip II to do the same. To summon the Council elsewhere than at Trent must delay the opening and cause the canons already framed by the Council to be called in question. As far as the other requests of the Emperor are concerned, the Pope has no intention of granting the concessions asked for without the authority of a General Council.

The replies to Francis II and Ferdinand I, whose requests were, at any rate in part, impossible of fulfilment, were somewhat delayed, owing to an illness of

the Pope. The first was handed in the middle of August to the Abbot of Manne, who returned home a week later. In this the Pope declares that he adheres to his determination to come to the help of the miseries of Christendom by a General Council of the Church, and that as soon as possible. Trent seemed to be the best place for this, especially in the interests of a speedy opening the Pope, however, would make no difficulty, after the Council was opened, about removing it, if necessary, to some other city which was safe and not under the suspicion of heresy. The King of Spain agreed to the removal of the suspension, and the continuation of the Council, and would use his influence with the Emperor in this sense. The Pope hoped that the king would do the same, and, under the existing conditions, no longer contemplate a national council.

Zaccaria Delfino, Bishop of Lesina, a very skilful diplomatist, and a great favourite at the court of Vienna, who was well acquainted with conditions in Germany from earlier days, was entrusted with the difficult and most important task of winning over the Emperor to the views of the Pope. His appointment as nuncio to Ferdinand I had already been made in July, but his actual mission was so long delayed that he only left Rome on September 2nd, and arrived in Vienna on the 28th.

The Pope's answer to the Imperial memorandum of June 26th, which Delfino took with him, bears the date of August 30th. In this Pius IV declares, in very decided terms, his wish again to assemble the Council at Trent, notwithstanding the objections raised by the Emperor. In matters of religion, he says, one must proceed without secondary aims; it was manifest in Germany that negotiations for reunion, prompted by temporal considerations, had always resulted in the infliction of grave injury on religion, as well as on Germany herself. The Council must therefore be opened without hesitation, and with the sole purpose of helping the Church to regain her former position. The Emperor's doubts and objections are then dealt with one by one. The war between England and France is at an end. Whether the Pope will be present in person at the Council is a matter for his own judgment. The Protestants who appeared at Trent would have no grounds for complaint; they would receive safe-conduct in the most sure and complete form, and would be listened to most willingly. The suspension of 1552 had only been effected in order to await the end of the war ; as universal peace now prevailed, the Council could again come into being. The objection that Trent was unequal to the task of providing the necessary maintenance and accommodation was also disposed of. The Emperor must realize that, in the places which he proposed, it would be in the power of every reckless prince to suppress the Council, but at Trent this would be impossible. His Majesty must also remember that Trent had been formerly approved of by all the Christian princes, including himself, as a suitable place for the meeting of the Council, and that those who now raised doubts in his mind had no other object in view than to prevent the continuation of the Council. An earnest admonition then follows, which implores Ferdinand to consider the present state of affairs, and above all the conditions in France, which require a speedy assembly of the Council, and to agree, without taking into consideration any personal advantage, but for the honour of God and the well-being of the nations, to the convocation of a General Council of the Church at Trent. This would also be in the interests of the concessions which he desired, concerning the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. In conclusion, as in the answer to France, reference is made

to the possible subsequent removal of the Council to some safe place which is not under suspicion of heresy.

Delfino is commissioned, in the very detailed instructions which were given to him, and which were certainly drawn up by Morone, to explain more fully the Pope's answer to the Imperial memorandum. The nuncio is to point out, with regard to ecclesiastical reform, that the Pope has taken it in hand himself, but is also pleased that it shall be dealt with in the Council; he will be willing to submit himself to it, should anything which cabs for reform be found in his own person. If these interior and religious reasons have no effect, then the nuncio is to point out to the Emperor how very much it is to his own advantage, even on political grounds, and especially in order to secure the succession to the Imperial dignity for his son Maximilian, that he should agree to the holding of the Council at Trent. Should all these considerations have no effect, then Delfino is to declare that, in view of the dangers which threatened the Church at that time, not only in Germany, but also in other lands, and especially in France, the Pope must summon a Council. His Majesty should, also, in the event of its being held elsewhere than in Trent, at least send his ambassadors and the bishops to it. In the extreme case of the Emperor obstinately refusing Trent or any of the places in Italy, and maintaining his demand for reforms and concessions, Delfino is instructed to propose that an assembly of bishops and theologians should deliberate on these questions in Rome.

Prospero Santa Croce, who was detained by illness at Avignon, was not able to reach Toledo before August 26th; two days later he had an audience with Philip II, who was pleased to receive the communication of the nuncio, and declared that he was prepared to send Antonio de Toledo to France, to exhort Francis II to give up the idea of a national council. Toledo left the Spanish court as early as September 4th, with instructions, dated on the 2nd, to the effect that he was to make energetic representations at the French court in favour of a General Council, and to oppose a national one, as being injurious and prejudicial to the interests of Christianity. Philip II informed the Pope of this step in an autograph letter of September 14th.

This intervention on the part of Spain, however, did not succeed in bringing about a change in the policy of France. The Abbot of Manne had arrived at the French court on September 8th with the Pope's reply. A royal edict of September 10th, 1560, definitely summoned a national council for January 10th, 1561. Antonio de Toledo, who reached the French court on September 20th, found himself faced by an accomplished fact; he returned as early as September 27th. The answer of Francis II which he took back to his sovereign, renewed, in courteous terms, the previous demands of France, and especially the refusal of Trent.

The news which in the meantime had arrived in Rome from France, had occasioned increasing uneasiness. At first the Pope still hoped to gain something by complaisance, and declared himself ready to summon the Council, if necessary, to Vercelli, so as to make it possible to hold it more quickly. When, however, letters from Cardinal Tournon announced on September 21st the convention of the French national council for January 10th, 1561, Pius IV felt himself obliged to take decisive measures. On September 22nd he conferred with



the Cardinals, and on the following day he summoned the ambassadors, with the exception of the representative, of France, to meet him, and then he communicated to them the news he had received from Tournon, and declared that he was now obliged to remove the suspension of the Council of Trent, without making any reference to the validity or non-validity of the decrees already issued. Should Trent not prove a suitable place, the Council could be moved later on to Vicenza, Mantua, or Monferrato. Although he wished to deal with those who had fallen away from the faith in a mild and friendly manner, they must not be suffered to issue commands to the Holy See in such a matter, but must be prepared to receive them from him. The ambassadors were instructed to communicate this to their princes, and to exhort them to support the Pope. Prospero d'Arco, the representative of the Emperor, was the only one to raise objections, but the Pope rebuked him sternly, and the others acquiesced in a greater or lesser degree. In accordance with this decision a new commission was sent by Cardinal Borromeo to the nuncio, Delfino, on September 24th, by which he was to induce the Emperor to agree to the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent. Pius IV on the same day sternly reproached the French ambassador, Bourdaisiere, for the attitude of France. He promised, however, at the ambassador's request, to wait for another fortnight or month, until Francis II should have spoken to Cardinal Tournon, and conferred further with him. The Pope gave the Imperial ambassador, Arco, on September 25th, the calming assurance that nothing but necessity had forced him to his declaration of the 23rd. If the Emperor thought that he could procure a delay of the national council from France until he had found out the views of the Protestants, he would alter his decision in accordance with his wishes. As a report was current that the Pope would remove the suspension without waiting for the answers of the princes, Pius IV, in reply to a question from Count Arco, assured him that he had not altered his intention of waiting until the Emperor and the other princes had answered. He again declared himself ready to transfer the Council to another place, if His Majesty so desired. On September 29th the Pope revealed his intention of summoning the Council in any case by his decision to postpone the enforcement of the duty of residence on the part of the bishops, in view of their participation in the General Council.

Philip II of Spain, in contrast to the policy of the Imperial and French courts, demanded, not only in a general way that the Council should be promulgated, and held as a continuation of that formerly assembled at Trent, but also, in a special way, that the decrees already published at Trent should be declared to be binding. In consideration of the views held by the other princes, however, the Pope did not think it advisable to make the situation still more difficult in this way by any express declaration. In order, however, that no doubts as to his own good will in the matter should arise in Spain, he informed the king, in a confidential letter of October 5th, that he had often considered this question, and had at last come to the conclusion that it would be best, when summoning the Council, neither to confirm the former decrees, nor to declare them invalid, but rather to pass lightly over this question with merely a few general references to it. To tranquillize Philip he told him that he personally considered the Council of Trent as good and holy, and that he especially approved of the decree on justification, and that he would also declare this at a consistory. On the same October 5th, the Pope received Philip's letter of September 14th, through Vargas, with the news of the mission of Antonio de Toledo to France. On the following day he praised the king's good will

in a Congregation of Cardinals, and once more emphasized the necessity of speedily summoning the Council. As almost all the Cardinals agreed to the continuation, it was resolved to announce the removal of the suspension on the First Sunday in Advent, to appoint the legates and to decide upon the Festival of Easter as the day of opening. Morone and Seripando were chosen as the probable legates.

Shortly after this, during the night between October 8th and 9th, the news of the non-success of Toledo's mission reached Rome. Vargas, who had an audience immediately afterwards, announces that he found the Pope much depressed, even though he had scarcely expected anything else. Pius IV said to Vargas: "As the French national council is now definitely decided upon, I for my part will now delay no longer in summoning the General Council. I no longer count on France, and believe that the Emperor will continue to hold back, from fear of complications in Germany. The Spanish king is my only support. I shall therefore request his agreement to the opening of the Council in Trent, as a continuation of the former assembly there; it might then later on be removed to a more suitable place, such as His Majesty would approve. I hope that after the opening the Emperor and others who still hesitate, will give their adherence." In a later conversation with Vargas on October 10th, the Pope declared that he would address an autograph letter to Philip II. This letter, dated October nth, declared his unalterable determination to proceed to the continuation of the Council of Trent; it was at once taken to Spain by Gherio, Bishop of Ischia, together with that of October 5th.

On October 13th, the Pope also informed the French ambassador that he was firmly resolved to continue the Council of Trent, and on the same day he discussed the matter in the congregation of Cardinals, who almost all voted for the plan of opening the synod by the removal of the suspension. Pius IV declared to the Imperial ambassador on October 14th that he could not delay the removal of the suspension later than St. Martin's day; he anxiously awaited the answers of the Emperor and of the Kings of Spain and France before that date.

It has been justly remarked how striking a fact it was that a person of such sanguine character as Pius IV should, in spite of all resistance, have held firmly to his plan of continuing the Council of Trent. His high dignity, as the first ruler of Christendom, seemed, as it were, to raise Pius IV above himself. It gave him the strength to carry through the great task without wavering, in spite of all the difficulties which presented themselves. The Council could no longer remain unfinished; it must be brought to a close, if the Church were not to suffer the gravest injury.

The representatives of the Pope at the court of Philip II, Prospero Santa Croce and the nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta, made an official communication to the Spanish king on October 24th, to the effect that the Pope, after serious consideration, had resolved to lose no more time in the matter of the Council. After he had convinced himself that the Emperor and the King of France could not be induced to agree to the removal of the suspension of the Council of Trent, he wished to order it without any further delay, or to remove it to some other city, either in Italy, in the dominions of His Majesty, or in those of his allies, and in this he begged the king to support him. Philip praised the Pope's zeal, and in

general terms declared his readiness to do so; the final answer was to be given to the nuncios in three or four days time. In the meantime, the Spanish king laid the matter before an assembly of theologians for discussion. The latter were, as Santa Croce learned, of various opinions; some spoke in favour of removing the suspension, and others for a new convocation of the Council. On October 28th, the Duke of Alba addressed the question to the nuncios, whether the Pope would prefer to remove the suspension or to summon a new Council, and whether he would agree to Besançon as its place of assembly. The nuncios, however, could give no definite answer on these two points.

This change of front in the Spanish policy was the result of consideration for France, after steps had again been taken by the French ambassador to Spain, the Bishop of Limoges, to come to an agreement on the matter of the Council. Philip II in his reply to the latter on October 30th, promised that he would intercede with the Pope, so that the Council should be convoked at once, and immediately after it had assembled be removed to Besançon or Vercelli. This decision of the Spanish king was then handed to the nuncios by Alba on October 31st. On November 10th, Gherio left the Spanish court for Rome, with an autograph letter from Philip II to Pius IV, in which the king agreed to the continuation of the Council of Trent, and did not show himself averse to its subsequent removal; if this course were decided upon, he proposed Besançon as a suitable place. In a letter to Vargas, written at the same time, he declared that he could only agree if, for the time being, all reference to the validity of the former decrees of Trent were avoided.

Zaccaria Delfino, who had been entrusted with the mission to Ferdinand I, arrived in Vienna on September 28th, and was received in audience by the Emperor on the following day. Ferdinand greeted him as an old friend,<sup>1</sup> but did not show himself inclined to deviate in any essential point from his demands. He defined his standpoint in a written reply to the Pope, which was expressed, indeed, in polite and submissive terms, but in reality made no advances. Now, as before, he persisted in his claim that the Council must be convoked as a new one, while he still maintained his objections to Trent as the place of assembly. Although, for his own part, he had nothing to urge against a continuation at Trent, he did this out of consideration for the Protestants, who otherwise could not be induced to take part in the Council, and also on account of those powers, such as France, who did not accept the previous assembly, or had not been represented at it. In connection with his expression of satisfaction at the Pope's reform work in Rome, the Emperor, in conclusion, recalled the concessions which he desired with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. It is true that he declared that he was also convinced that these points could best be dealt with at a General Council, but in view of the many difficulties which in the meantime stood in the way of its convocation, he again recommended the consideration of these concessions to His Holiness.

On October 8th the Emperor received the report of his ambassador in Rome concerning the declaration made by the Pope on September 23rd. At the same time Borromeo's instructions to Delfino of September 24th arrived, whereupon the latter immediately requested an audience for Hosius and himself. Both nuncios appeared before the Emperor on October 8th, when they declared to him the Pope's resolve to remove the suspension of the Council of Trent, and called

upon him for his support. Ferdinand handed them his written answer to the Pope, adding thereto a declaration concerning the whole question of the Council, which was couched in vigorous and decided terms. He then pointed out that he gave no orders to the Pope, but only wished to fulfil his duty as Emperor, when he put forward his views on such important matters. As far as he personally was concerned he was prepared to accept any decision of the Pope, but he could not fail to say clearly and distinctly to His Holiness that, in the event of the continuation of the Council of Trent, the participation of the Protestants could in no circumstances be counted on, and that they would even rise up in arms against it. As France and the other powers also refused to accept the continuation, the difficulties of Christendom could only be removed by the convocation of a new Council, to which the Pope was, moreover, bound by the decisions of the Council of Constance. He wished to support this good work, and left the question of the time to His Holiness; as far as he himself was concerned, he was quite agreeable to Trent, which place was very convenient for him, but as this name was hated in Germany, he proposed Innsbruck. The Emperor also referred to the necessity for the personal attendance of the Pope at the Council. Finally he expressed his astonishment that the work of reform in Rome was so slow, and carried out with so little thoroughness; he also especially touched upon the abuses in the appointment of Cardinals, by which he referred to the decisions of the Council of Basle. The satisfaction expressed in the memorandum at the Pope's zeal for reform was, therefore, already forgotten!

The nuncios could at any rate conclude from these significant declarations of Ferdinand, that if the Pope should finally decide in favour of Trent, he would not oppose him. If Delfino, however, thought that the Emperor, in spite of his strong opposition to the continuation of the Council, would leave the Pope a free hand in this respect, he was taking a much too optimistic view.

In Rome, this view was not shared. On the arrival of the Emperor's answer, Congregations were held on October 27th and 28th, in which, an unusual occurrence, almost all the Cardinals took part. At these deliberations a great divergence of views became apparent. Several very highly respected Cardinals, especially Carpi, as well as Cesi, Puteo and Saraceni, spoke very decidedly in favour of the continuation of the Council of Trent, and against the convocation of a new Council. They were able to put forward weighty reasons for their opinion; in the event of a new Council being summoned, it was to be feared that the whole of the work accomplished at Trent would be lost, while should the decisions of Trent be called in question, the same might be done with regard to the decrees of previous Councils, and the consequences would be incalculable. With regard to the German Protestants, it was of no importance whether the Council were described, in accordance with the Emperor's wishes, as a completely new one, since they had repeatedly declared, and most recently at the Diet of Augsburg in 1559, that they would acknowledge no assembly of the Church which was summoned by the Pope. They arrived, however, at no definite decision, and Madruzzo advised them to deliberate further on the matter, to which proposal Pius IV also agreed.

In the Curia much dissatisfaction was felt at the attitude of Delfino. In a letter from Cardinal Borromeo, of November 2nd, reproaches were made to him that he had expressed the Pope's intentions to the Emperor with too little vigour.

Delfino defended himself in a detailed letter on November 17th. On his arrival in Vienna he had found the situation almost hopeless, as the Emperor had been worked upon by France to oppose the continuation of the Council of Trent, and to agree only to its being held at Spire, Constance, or some similar place. He had, however, in a few days, managed to win over Ferdinand to submit to the decision of the Pope with regard to the time and place of the Council, and even to agree to Trent, though he had also proposed Innsbruck. The Emperor, therefore, was not in favour of a new Council, and against a continuation, because he did not acknowledge the assembly at Trent, the decrees of which he personally accepted with all faith, but because he saw that France would not agree, and that Germany threatened to take up arms against it. Delfino allowed it to be plainly seen that, because of these weighty reasons, he approved of the Emperor's point of view, and would recommend it in Rome. In a later letter, he even made proposals in this sense. He said that it would perhaps be well to publish no conciliar bull, but rather four briefs relating to the Council. The first, addressed to the legates of the Council, would contain their appointment and admonish them to listen patiently to everyone, and to treat them in a friendly manner. The prelates would be summoned and invited by a second brief to the Council, which was to be assembled at Trent; in this brief no mention would be made, either of the summoning of a new Council, or of the continuation of the former one; a remark could at the same time be made to the effect that, although the Pope had appointed legates, he would appear in person in so far as his health would allow him to do so. The third brief, to the Emperor Ferdinand and the other Catholic kings and princes, would beg them to support the Council, and prevail upon the German princes to agree to it. Finally, the fourth brief would be addressed to the secular Electors, and "the other princes of the noble German nation who had fallen away from the Catholic faith"; the Pope might say to them that, because of their noble forefathers, who had always been shining lights in Christendom, he could not believe that they would obstinately resist reunion; they should therefore be invited to the Council, with the promise that they should receive safe-conduct, be listened to with great patience, and be treated with every consideration. However, by the time these two letters from Delfino arrived in Rome, the decisive step had already been taken.

It had certainly not been without influence in bringing this about that the French court, in consequence of a letter written to the king by Ferdinand, at the instigation of Delfino, had suddenly, on October 14th, given way on the question of the Council. On November 1st, a courier had been sent to Rome with the declaration that France accepted the last proposal to summon the Council at Vercelli, or some other place in Piedmont, and begged the Pope to communicate this to the Emperor and Philip II; the national council would not be held, but a definite decision of the Pope with regard to a general council must be laid before the States General, which were to assemble on December 10th.

After the departure of the courier news arrived from Vienna that the Emperor had given his consent to Trent, and in consequence of this a second messenger was sent on November 2nd to convey to the Pope the agreement of the French government to Trent. Francis II wrote to the Emperor on November 6th that he would refrain from assembling a national council.

The courier sent by Francis II on November 1st, reached Rome on November 11th, and the second messenger must have arrived shortly afterwards. On November 14th Cardinal Borromeo wrote to Santa Croce, the nuncio in Spain, "The Emperor and the King of France have decided to agree that the Pope shall hold the Council at Trent, but desire that it should be summoned anew. As the Pope under no circumstances will agree to the Council of Trent or its decrees being invalidated, he is having the question as to whether the convocation shall take place, without prejudice to those decrees, discussed by the Cardinals and other theologians. The bull of convocation will accordingly be drawn up and published in from ten to twelve days time, as is required by our duty to God and the welfare of Christendom; a longer delay is excluded by the occurrences in France and the king's promise to refrain from a national council." At a consistory of November 15th the Pope announced that the princes had agreed to Trent as the seat of the Council, and that the necessary preparations would be undertaken with the consent of the Cardinals. Fasts and intercessory prayers must be ordered for the whole of Christendom, while a special procession and a High Mass at S. Maria sopra Minerva would take place in Rome. Cardinals Saraceni, Puteo and Cicada, together with several other theologians would be entrusted with the drafting of the bull of convocation, and their draft would be laid before the Cardinals in consistory.

The decision so suddenly arrived at, after such long discussion, was soon known in Rome, and caused great astonishment.

The following occurrences clearly showed that they were faced with an accomplished fact. The indulgence which usually preceded the conciliar bull, was published on November 19th, and in this the Pope announced his resolve to summon and continue the General Council, in accordance with the advice, and with the consent of the Cardinals, in the same city of Trent, where his predecessors had already held the Council. Fasts, prayers and alms would be ordered to implore the Divine blessing, and to the faithful who added to these good works a contrite confession and a worthy communion, a plenary indulgence would be granted as in the year of Jubilee.

This jubilee was closed by the Pope himself with a solemn procession, which took place on Sunday, November 24th. The grand cortege proceeded from St. Peter's, through the Via de' Banchi, Monte Giordano, and the Piazza della Dogana, to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, Ridolfo Pio di Carpi, celebrated High Mass. In the procession Pius IV, walked barefoot, accompanied by Cardinals Farnese and Santa Fiora, and all the Cardinals then in Rome, twenty-one in number, were also to be seen. The ambassadors first carried the baldachino over the Pope, and afterwards the nobles. All the members of the Curia took part in the procession, as did also the secular and regular clergy, as well as the seventeen secular confraternities of Rome, and the Duke of Florence, who walked between the two junior Cardinal Deacons, Carlo Borromeo and Giovanni de' Medici, his own son. The Roman people showed great piety during the ceremony, and many communicated in order to gain the indulgence.

The publication of the conciliar bull had also been originally intended for November 24th, but its appearance was delayed, as such great differences of opinion had arisen among the Cardinals, canonists and theologians who had been

summoned to the conference, among whom was the General of the Jesuits, Lainez, that violent discussions ensued. In consequence of this, the bull could only be read in consistory on November 29th. Before it was read the Pope made a speech in which he pointed out the necessity of speedy measures in view of the dangerous position of the Church, and the threatened national council in France. After the bull had been read, he explained it, and indicated as the tasks of the General Council the eradication of heresy, the removal of schism, and the reform of the Church. At the end he remarked to Cardinal d'Este that the national council would thus be prevented, to which the Cardinal replied that it was already destroyed.

In the bull of convocation, which bears the date November 29th, 1560, Pius IV glances back at the history of the Council under his predecessors, Paul III and Julius III, who had been unable to bring it to an end owing to the difficulties of the times. This account is in such a form as to take it for granted that the former acts of the Council, which had been combatted, partly by the Imperialists and partly by the French, were valid. The Pope then expressed his sorrow at the continued spread of heresy. As the good and merciful God had again granted peace to Christendom, he now hoped to be able to put an end to the great evils of the Church by means of the Council. After having fully deliberated on the matter with the Cardinals, and communicated his decision to the Emperor and the kings and princes, and found them ready to support the holding of the Council, he now summons the holy, ecumenical and general Council to Trent; it is to be opened there under the repeal of each and every suspension, on Easter Sunday next. The patriarchs, archbishops, and all those who, according to common law, or privilege, or prescriptive law or right, have a seat and vote on the Council, are admonished to appear at Trent on the appointed day. A request is addressed to the Emperor and the other princes, that if it be impossible for them to be present at the Council in person, they shall at least send envoys, and see that the prelates undertake the journey without delay, and are in a position to fulfil their duty.

On November 30th. copies of the bull, with the accompanying brief, were sent to the Catholic princes. On the same date a brief was sent to all the bishops of France, containing an invitation to the Council, a special one being sent to Cardinal Tournon. On Sunday, December 2nd, the bull of convocation was made public, by being read in St. Peter's and the Lateran, and by being affixed in the usual places.

By the words "under repeal of each and every suspension" the bull gives expression to the fact that the Council, in accordance with the will of the Pope, shall be a continuation of the previous assembly at Trent, but out of consideration for the Emperor and for France, this is put in as reserved a way as possible, and with a careful avoidance of the word "continuation."

CHAPTER VI.

The Mission of Commendone and Delfino to Germany.

Pius IV and his advisers, by their carefully considered and, in various points, intentionally vague wording of the bull of convocation of November 29th, 1560, wished, as far as possible, to avoid giving offence to the powers, and to evade the dangerous controversial question as to the relation existing between the Council now summoned to Trent, and the former assembly held there. Out of consideration for the Emperor and France, the word "continuation" was not used, while, out of consideration for Spain, the convocation of a new Council was not definitely mentioned. As far as principle was concerned, however, nothing was yielded by this; the highly important question of the validity of the previous decrees remained only in apparent abeyance. The basing of the convocation on the historical fact that the Council had already been assembled on two occasions, and not brought to a conclusion, but only adjourned, as well as the use of the significant expression "under repeal of each and every suspension" pointed clearly to a continuation, and let it be seen that a renewed discussion of decrees already promulgated, contrary as it was to Catholic principles, would not be tolerated. On the other hand, the words "We summon a Council" made it possible for the Emperor and France to see therein a concession to their wishes. In this way an attempt was made to do justice to both views, although they were incompatible and irreconcilable.

The great question was whether the formal concessions adopted by Papal diplomacy, and which attempted to provide a middle course between two powerfully opposed attitudes, would satisfy the great Catholic powers. It was soon evident that this was by no means the case. The long negotiations were again renewed, and repeated missions of nuncios extraordinary became necessary in order to secure the acceptance of the bull and the bringing into being of the Council.

The delivery of the conciliar bull to France was entrusted to the secretary of Cardinal d'Este, Niquet, Abbot of St. Gildas, who had come to Rome on September 24th, 1560, with dispatches from Francis II. to his ambassador, Bourdaisiere. When Niquet reached Paris on December 17th, 1560, Francis II was dead, and his younger brother, Charles IX, then only ten years old, had succeeded him (December 5th, 1560). Affairs of state were now in the hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, but the change of government had led to no alteration in the question of the Council. People appeared to be glad at the idea of a general council being at last summoned, but objected to the words "under repeal of each and every suspension" and expressed the fear that the Protestants, and, out of consideration for them, the Catholics of Germany as well, would not acknowledge a council which took for granted the validity of the former decrees.



It was, however, decided to delay making an answer until the Emperor's attitude could be ascertained. The French ambassador in Vienna, Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, was instructed to discuss the matter with him. Should Ferdinand not accept the bull, they resolved, in union with him, to demand an alteration from the Pope. In this event, Bourdaisiere, the ambassador in Rome, was instructed to act in concert with the representative of the Emperor.

While the French government was raising difficulties because the bull pointed to a continuation of the Council of Trent, the Spanish king was displeased because the continuation was not expressly and clearly proclaimed. Philip II and his counsellors, in their great zeal for the Catholic faith, feared that Pius I. might give way still further, and, in order to win over the Protestants, allow a renewed discussion of the decrees already formulated. It was not, however, difficult to satisfy Philip II on this point. The greatest danger for Pius IV lay in the possibility of an understanding between the French government and the Emperor, as together they might be able to enforce their will upon him in the matter of the Council.

As a matter of fact, of all the princes, Ferdinand had the least occasion to make further difficulties, as his request that the continuation of the Council should not be definitely spoken of had been complied with, but the Emperor's constant fear of a sudden attack by the Protestants, which caused him to take quite exaggerated measures to reassure them, prevented him, on this occasion as well, from declaring himself boldly in favour of the Council.

Pius IV chose Giovanni Commendone, Bishop of Zante, to deliver the bull of convocation to the Emperor, and he was, at the same time, commissioned to announce the Council to the ecclesiastical and secular princes in north Germany, Belgium and the Rhineland, Zaccaria Delfino, Bishop of Lesina, receiving instructions to travel through central and south Germany for the same purpose. In order to publish the invitation to the Council in the widest manner possible, the Pope had thought of allowing his representatives to visit the Protestant princes as well, but by so doing he would expose himself to the danger of offensive refusals, so he comforted himself with the consciousness of having fulfilled his duties as chief pastor.

Giovanni Commendone had begun his diplomatic career under Julius III and Paul IV, in many missions, and in the office of the Secretary of State. He had also come in contact with that part of north Germany which he was now to visit, when he had accompanied the legates Dandino (1553) and Rebiba (1556). He left Rome on December nth, 1560, and arrived in Vienna on January 3rd, 1561. He delivered to the Emperor, in addition to the bull of convocation, a brief and an autograph letter from the Pope. The brief contained an invitation to send envoys to the Council, and a request to order the bishops of the Imperial dominions to proceed to Trent. The autograph letter assured him once more that the Germans invited to the Council would be listened to with kindness and charity, and their just demands satisfied.

On January 5th, 1561, Commendone, as well as Hosius and Delfino, had an audience with the Emperor. The latter did not conceal his objections to the wording of the Papal briefs, but, nevertheless, declared himself ready to further

the Council. He then recommended the nuncios to proceed without delay to the Diet summoned by the Protestant princes for January 24th at Naumburg. He requested to be informed in writing as to what the Pope wished him to communicate to the princes. The nuncios, who had been forbidden to undertake written negotiations, so as to avoid protracted and dangerous correspondence, had scruples about complying with this request. As Ferdinand, however, insisted on having at least Commendone's proposal in writing, they felt bound to give way, so as not to endanger further negotiations. They therefore gave him a note from Commendone, drawn up in the shortest possible terms, to which the Emperor, in his turn, gave a written reply on January 8th. He praised the Pope's resolve to invite the German princes by means of the two nuncios; from the Catholic states of the Empire, and especially from the ecclesiastical ones, he thought that the Pope's representatives would be sure to meet with ready obedience. With regard to the Protestants, he repeated his advice that they should visit the Diet at Naumburg, and exhorted them to act there in a spirit of clemency; he intended himself to send envoys to Naumburg.

There was no possibility of the nuncios seeking fresh instructions as to their course of action from Rome, and as the Emperor's representations were very urgent, they resolved, hoping for subsequent approval, to modify their programme, and to repair together to the Diet of the princes at Naumburg, proceeding afterwards to the legatine districts prescribed to them. At a further meeting on January 12th, the Emperor recommended three further points for their consideration. First, as the Protestant princes looked upon the Council which had been summoned as a continuation of the former one, and were therefore full of suspicion, this suspicion must be removed. Second, it was necessary to act in a very discreet manner when dealing with the Protestants, and to offer them safe-conduct in the widest acceptation of the word. Third, when at Naumburg, they should accommodate themselves to the German usage, and negotiate in writing. To the second point, it was possible for Commendone to agree unconditionally, but to the first he answered that they were not sent to dispute with the Protestants, but only to invite them to the Council, where everyone would be able to speak freely on all points, and would be listened to in the most courteous manner. With regard to the third point, Commendone referred to his instructions, which forbade written negotiations in order to avoid useless disputes.

On January 9th Ferdinand replied to the brief, and on the 15th to the Pope's letter. Both documents, it is true, gave hopes, in general terms, of his supporting the Council, but threw no light on the Emperor's own intentions. His idea was to make his decision dependent on the answer of the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg. While he invited the latter, through his envoys, to send delegates to the Council, he at the same time emphasized his firm resolve, under all circumstances, to preserve religious peace.

Commendone and Delfino left Vienna on January 14th; they travelled as quickly as cold and snow permitted, by way of Prague, where they were received by the Archduke Ferdinand, and arrived at Naumburg on January 28th. There, in accordance with their instructions, they endeavoured at first to negotiate with the individual princes separately, but in this they were not successful, and had to make up their minds to appear before all the princes assembled in the Diet. This

took place on February 5th. The nuncios first handed to each prince the brief addressed to him, together with a copy of the bull of convocation. They then invited the assembled princes by word of mouth to participate in the General Council. Delfino assured them that the Council would not only, and above all, grant them a hearing, but also all just demands. As there were almost as many opinions concerning religion as there were individuals, and as many gospels as teachers, he begged them to send their envoys to Trent, who would receive safe-conduct in the fullest form, and thus to secure the re-establishment of religious unity. Commendone pointed out that this was the very moment for a Council; peace now reigned between France and Spain, and the present Pope had zealously resolved to abolish all the abuses which had crept into the Church and to restore the weakened ecclesiastical discipline. They must consider that it was a question of the faith and of the salvation of souls; if the foundations of religion were to be destroyed, then the kingdoms would also fall to pieces. The assembled princes desired the nuncios to give them what they had said in writing, but desisted when the latter appealed to their instructions to the contrary.

The nuncios had hardly returned to their temporary lodgings when they were subjected to insulting treatment, similar to that which had been shown to the envoys of Paul III at Schmalkald. Three of the councillors brought back the briefs with the statement that the princes had only remarked the address "Beloved son" after they had gone; as they did not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as their father, they must reject the appellation of "sons" as well as the documents which had been delivered. The nuncios replied that the Pope had made use of the term which had been used from time immemorial towards all Christian princes. The councillors thereupon laid the briefs upon the table. The bull of convocation, however, which was a much more important document, and brought the Papal authority into prominence in quite another manner than did the conventional address of the briefs, was not among them; the answer to this arrived two days later. It was not merely a rejection, but was couched in rude and offensive terms. The Pope, it stated, had no right to summon a Council, or to pose as a judge in ecclesiastical disputes, as it was precisely he who was the originator of all errors, and who suppressed the truth more than anybody else. The outstanding work of the Popes had been to stir up nation against nation, and to increase their own power by weakening that of the people. They proceeded with cruelty against all those who would not abase themselves to the adoration of their persons and their false deities, yet who wished to live in true piety. Then these very princes who were just then disputing with each other at Naumburg about the true Confession of Augsburg, went on to deny the existence of any religious disunion. They were unjustly accused, they impudently maintained, of not possessing religious unity, yet there was not only their clear confession of faith at Augsburg, which had been handed to the Emperor in 1530, but various other documents which had amplified and spread more widely the true divine doctrine. On the other hand the Roman Church was inundated with errors and abominable abuses, and the Gospel teaching there, was so violently distorted, that it resembled heathen idolatry rather than a Christian community. The Electors and princes had been driven by the stern command of God to avoid idolatry, and to separate themselves from the Roman Church, and they were by no means willing to allow the Pope to make laws for them; it was Ferdinand, the Roman Emperor, who alone was their master, and had the right to summon a Council.

Commendone answered this insulting declaration calmly and with dignity: The Pope had summoned the Council in the manner which had always been observed in the Church; the Emperor, to whom the princes ascribed the right to summon a Council had too much discernment not to see the difference between spiritual and temporal authority. The Pope had had his attention fixed upon reform ever since he ascended the throne, and he had summoned the Council all the more gladly as it was precisely in that way that a general reformation could best be undertaken. That divisions and uncertainty of opinion existed among the followers of the new religion was no unjust reproach, but a fact patent to the eyes of the whole world ; it was perfectly evident from the writings of their theologians, which had been cited by the princes, and which were full of many new opinions, all contradictory of each other. If the princes maintained that they had certainty in their faith, then the novelty, the deviation from the rest of the Church, the separation from the ordained power, must at any rate affect this certainty and make them doubtful, especially in a matter where it was a question of eternal salvation or eternal damnation. St. Paul, the vessel of election, who, according to his own testimony, had received his gospel, not from men, but by revelation, yet received by revelation the command to go to Jerusalem and compare his gospel with that of the Apostles, so that he might not run or have already run in vain. Commendone further enjoined the princes to reflect that from the days of the Apostles all the ancient fathers had always turned to the Church of Rome as their teacher and rule of truth; the Germans themselves, as they must acknowledge, had received Christianity from her. They should remember the words of the Gospel: "How often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldest not!"

Although the answer of the princes contained no reply to the invitation of the nuncios, there could yet be no doubt that they rejected the Council. Even Delfino, who comforted himself in his sanguine way, recognized how hostile those assembled at Naumburg were to the Pope, and feared that the other Protestant princes and states would follow their example. On February 11th he and Commendone visited Bishop Julius Pflug, who lived at Zeitz, and who promised to come to Trent. The nuncios separated on February 13th; in spite of their different characters they had got on well together as Venetians. Delfino, in accordance with his instructions, went to south Germany, while Commendone commenced his journey to the north.

Commendone refrained from visiting Weimar, as Duke John Frederick did not even condescend to give him a direct answer, but merely sent him a message that "he had less than nothing to discuss with the Roman Bishop" The Elector Augustus of Saxony had provided the nuncios at Naumburg with letters of safe-conduct for his dominions, and expressed his regret that he had not met them in a city belonging to him, but at an assembly for which he had had to show some consideration. Commendone was accordingly politely received at Leipsic by the municipal council and the university, although the whole city was Protestant. From Leipsic he proceeded by Magdeburg to Berlin, which he reached on February 19th, and where he took up his residence for a time. Pius IV had built great hopes on the Elector Joachim II, as he had made his personal acquaintance many years before during the Turkish war. Joachim acknowledged this circumstance by an almost oppressive amiability and hospitality towards the Pope's representative. The cunning Hohenzollern overwhelmed Commendone

with marks of attention, assigning him a lodging in the best part of his castle, repeatedly inviting him to his table, and holding long and confidential theological discussions with him. Commendone might well have great hopes that his mission would be successful here, because the Elector received without any difficulty the bull of convocation and the brief addressed to him; the answer, however, which he finally received, although very courteous, amounted to a refusal.

The brother of the Elector, the Margrave John of Brandenburg, whom Commendone, while at Berlin, visited at Beeskow, also received him with great politeness, giving him, however, an answer which was an even more definite rejection than that of Joachim II. The son of the Elector of Brandenburg, Archbishop Sigismund of Magdeburg, to whom Commendone delivered the bull and a brief from the Pope, promised, on the other hand, to come soon to Trent; he would, he said, apply to the Pope with the greatest confidence for advice and help in his ecclesiastical affairs. The prince who thus gave these solemn assurances was already at that time a Protestant in secret, and openly adhered to the Augsburg Confession before the year was out.

Commendone's stay in Berlin came to an end on March 3rd. On his departure Joachim II handed him a polite answer in writing to the Pope's brief. The Elector, whose marks of attention were continued to the end, also wished to bestow valuable gifts upon the nuncio. Commendone, however, begged him to refrain from doing this, and rather to grant him two other favours, namely to agree to read the controversial work of Hosius, "Confession of the Catholic Faith," and to restore to the poor Carthusian monks, who had still managed to maintain themselves near Frankfort on Oder, some property which had been taken away from them. The Elector promised to grant both requests.

However greatly Commendone may have appreciated the benevolent frame of mind and the good will of Joachim II towards a peaceful settlement of the religious disputes, he had no illusions, however, as to the attitude which this prince would adopt with regard to the matter of the Council. The often repeated claims of the Elector that the Protestant theologians should be granted a vote at the ecumenical Council could not, in accordance with Catholic principles, be allowed.

Commendone remained at Wolfenbüttel, with the aged Duke of Brunswick, Henry the Younger, from March 8th till the 13th. This prince, who had remained true to the old faith, declared himself ready to send envoys to Trent. On the 14th Commendone arrived at Hildesheim, where he did not meet the bishop of that place, Burkard von Oberg. The Duke Eric II of Brunswick and the Bishop of Osnabruck were also absent, so Commendone delivered the Papal invitation to the Council to their councillors. At Paderborn, where Commendone arrived on March 22nd, he at last found a city which still remained entirely Catholic. The bishop, Rembert von Kerssenbrock, promised, in spite of his great age, to attend the Council. Munster was reached on March 26th. In contrast to Paderborn, many had fallen away from the church in the diocese of Munster, which was certainly in consequence of the want of vigilance on the part of the bishops of the district. The metropolitan of that time, Bernhard von Raesfeld, did not appear to show much zeal in the carrying out of his pastoral duties, and his reply was in keeping

with his conduct: he endeavoured to excuse himself from going to Trent, on account of the proximity of the Protestants and the disobedience of his subjects.

On the way to Cologne Commendone touched on the dominions of the Duke of Cleves, where he again found many Lutherans. Things looked better in the territory of the Elector of Cologne, whose capital the nuncio reached at the end of March. There he took up his residence in the Abbey of St. Pantaleon. The nuncio and those who accompanied him were astonished at the number of churches, said to be as many as three hundred, and at the rich treasures of relics which the Rhenish metropolis possessed. The city was not quite free from heresy, but the zeal with which the people frequented the churches made a most favourable impression on the Pope's representative.<sup>1</sup> His original intention, of spending Holy Week in Cologne, and then carrying out his commission, he had to give up on learning that a Diet of the German Electors was to be held at Frankfort on the 20th. He could not fail to take advantage of this favourable opportunity of furthering the matter of the Council, so he immediately repaired to Brühl to see the archbishop, Johann Gebhard of Mansfeld, who was grievously ill. The answer which he received there, however, was very unsatisfactory. In sending this to Cardinal Borromeo, he wrote: "I do not believe that any of the bishops are thinking of coming to Trent. The princes of the other religion do all they can to prevent their appearance there, and in this manner to weaken the authority of the Council."

Commendone visited the Elector of Treves, Johann von der Leyen, by making a journey to Coblenz. The two prelates understood each other very well, and made friends, although, even more strongly than the other bishops, Johann insisted on the impossibility of leaving his people or diocese, in view of the dangerous position of affairs, and the experiences of 1552.

In his conversations with the Archbishop of Treves, whose diocese still remained entirely Catholic, Commendone spoke with great frankness of the sad experiences he had so far had during his journey through north Germany. "Religious conditions in Germany," he explained, "are in such a state that the application of the remedy must not long be delayed; the longer we hesitate the more difficult and dangerous it will become. The number of the heretics increases from day to day; they have not only won over the greater number of the secular princes, but the territories of the Catholic princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, are so polluted and infected that they can hardly exact service from their subjects, nor the customary taxes and obedience. Still, there is no doubt that the power of the Catholic states of the Empire is greater than that of the Protestants, and nothing causes these last to be so respected and feared as their external unity, though at heart they are much divided, and only united by their common hatred of the Catholic religion, and their greed for the ecclesiastical property that still remains. It is therefore most necessary that the Catholic princes should at once be truly united and on good terms with each other, from which it would become possible to hope for every good, and a happy outcome to the Diet, and even without this the way would be opened to the Council." Johann von der Leyen informed Commendone in confidence of the obstacles which had hitherto frustrated the formation of a Catholic confederation. Commendone, however, adhered firmly to his opinion that, if they did not make up their minds to unite the Catholics, and set them free from their state of fear and subjection, religious

affairs would become almost desperate. The Archbishop of Treves himself does not seem to have been free from this state of fear, as was shown by his pronouncements with regard to the Diet of the Prince Electors and his answer in the matter of the Council, that he could not appear in person at Trent, on account of the certain dangers to which he would expose his territory by his absence.

On April 19th Commendone was once more in Cologne, where he received the visit of the Bishop of Osnabrück, Johann von Hoya. This prelate, whom in other respects Commendone highly praises, also dwelt upon the disturbed state of the country, and the dangers which threatened the bishops who should travel to the Council. He proposed that the archbishops should be commissioned by the Pope to hold provincial synods, and these should appoint several bishops to go to the Council, the other bishops remaining behind for the protection of their own and the other dioceses. Commendone, however, protested against the dangerous and tedious plan of holding provincial synods.

The answer of the municipal council of Cologne, and of the university of that city to the invitation to the Council was satisfactory. Commendone, however, did not conceal from himself the fact that even in Cologne grave dangers threatened the Church. He set great hopes on the Jesuits for averting these dangers, but the latter had to contend with great difficulties in the Rhenish capital, owing to the jealousy of the clergy, and especially of the mendicant orders. The nuncio was much grieved by the incredible apathy of so many Catholics. "It looks," he wrote, "as if our people were those who believe in faith alone without works, so little do they appear to trouble about the redress of the present evil conditions. On the other hand, those who stand outside the truth and can therefore find no real unity, do endeavour to support one another and to give an appearance of being united."

Commendone found conditions much worse than in the archdiocese of Cologne, when he entered the Duchy of Cleves, the capital of which he reached on April 26th. The apostasy from Rome had there made great progress, and there were many heretics in Cleves. The city of Wesel was almost entirely Protestant, at Dusseldorf a declared Protestant was teaching five hundred pupils, and the court preacher gave the people communion under both kinds. Commendone lost no time in remonstrating with Duke William IV, but was very cautious in doing so. This was very necessary, as the Duke was out of temper on account of the hesitation of Pius IV to grant permission for the foundation of the university at Duisburg<sup>1</sup> As a change of religion on the part of the Duke of Cleves might have incalculable consequences, on account of the position of his country, Commendone endeavoured to pacify him and advised Rome to make all possible advances. In the matter of the Council, Duke William showed very good will as to the sending of envoys, expressing at the same time the wish that the chalice might be granted to the laity, and permission given to priests to marry.

From Cleves, Commendone visited the Netherlands, starting for Utrecht on April 29th, where he arrived on the 30th. Thence he travelled by Dordrecht to Antwerp, which he reached on May 3rd, remaining there until the 12th. Here he received Cardinal Borromeo's instructions that he should also visit the King of Denmark and hand him personally the invitation to the Council. If he should be successful in winning over this prince, the most powerful in the north, who was

also related to the two most important courts of the German Protestant princes, Brandenburg and Saxony, he would indeed have attained a great deal. In view of the attitude which the Danish sovereign had hitherto taken up, however, there appeared to be very little hope of success. In spite of this Pius IV did not wish to leave any means untried.

In order to carry out this visit to Denmark, Commendone required special letters of safe-conduct and recommendation from the Emperor, and these could not be obtained very quickly. In the meantime the indefatigable nuncio employed the interval in carrying on further work in the Netherlands to ensure the sending of delegates to the Council. On May 12th he proceeded by Malines and Louvain to Brussels, and during his stay there (May 22nd) carried on negotiations with Margaret, the Governess of the Low Countries, and with Cardinal Granvelle, who both displayed great zeal for the Council. They, however, advised Commendone against the journey to Denmark, as being dangerous to his own person, and not in keeping with the dignity of the Pope. Commendone was, however, of opinion that it was the duty of a servant to carry out unconditionally the orders of his master, and that he should take no thought for his own danger. At Louvain the nuncio had made inquiries concerning the theological controversies which had been stirred up by the professor Michael Baius, who was a lover of innovations; he reported the facts to the Pope, giving him the shrewd advice, which Pius IV followed, to impose silence on both Baius and his opponents.

In the person of the Bishop of Liege, Robert van Berghen, Commendone made the acquaintance of a prelate who was distinguished both for his learning and piety, and who showed an ardent zeal for the Council, although he was suffering from serious illness. The nuncio left Liege on May 30th. During his stay in Belgium he had also been occupied with the matter of the recently established bishoprics.

In the Imperial city of Aix Commendone confirmed the municipal council and the citizens in their great zeal for the old faith. There was a want of suitable delegates for the Council in the city, and therefore the councillors promised a strict observance of any decrees which should be issued by the Council at Trent.

On June 2nd Commendone left Aix-la-Chapelle on his return journey to Antwerp, where he stayed for three weeks, waiting for news from Rome. On the 24th he started for Amsterdam, from which city he went on to Lubeck, by way of Osnabrück. His stay in this entirely Protestant and very profligate city, which he reached on July 9th, was to last for quite two months, and in the end was to prove altogether useless.

While the councillors at Lubeck were still hesitating whether they should observe the customary rules of diplomatic courtesy towards the representative of the Pope, the Protestant preachers were violently declaiming in their pulpits against the demon who had come to unsettle the consciences of the people and deceive them with the fable of the Council. The municipality at length decided not to take the embassy of Commendone into consideration; this ill success, however, might have been endured had not the other and much more important mission, to the Danish king, been such a complete failure.



Full of zeal, Commendone had already declared himself willing to deliver the invitation to the Council to King Eric XIV of Sweden as well. Pius IV, who had originally intended to entrust this task to Canobio, who was destined for Russia, at last decided, on the advice of Hosius, in favour of Commendone. The latter had addressed a letter to the King of Denmark, Frederick II, who had not even condescended to send him a direct reply. The king simply wrote on July 22nd, 1561, to the Imperial commissary, Caspar von Schoncich, who accompanied the nuncio to north Germany, that he refused the representative of the Bishop of Rome, with whom he had no relations, the desired entry into his kingdom.

The long expected answer of the King of Sweden, which arrived at the end of August, 1561, not only observed the forms of courtesy, but also from its tone held out some hopes. Eric XIV excused his delay by saying that he had not been able to decide about his journey to England, but that now that he had made up his mind, he left it to the nuncio either to seek him there, or to wait for his return to Sweden. A safe conduct was attached to the letter.

It was, however, very doubtful whether a journey to England would be possible for Commendone, as Queen Elizabeth had already forbidden Abbot Girolamo Martinengo, who was to take to her the invitation to the Council, to set foot in her dominions.

Commendone decided to return to Antwerp, and there await developments. In the difficulties of his position it was a consolation to him that his friends in Rome, the Jesuits and other religious, were praying for him without ceasing. On September 9th he left Lubeck and travelled by way of Verden, Osnabrück, Munster, Emmerich and Cleves to Antwerp which he reached on September 26th. While he was waiting for further news there, Eric XIV gave up his journey to England, as Elizabeth had informed his ambassador that she was not at present disposed to marry. In the middle of November Commendone received in Brussels, where he had been arranging the reorganization of the Belgian bishoprics, orders from Cardinal Borromeo to return to Rome, and on his way to invite Duke Charles II. of Lorraine to the Council. The zeal which the nuncio had displayed in his legation had given universal satisfaction in Rome.

On December 8th Commendone left Brussels and journeyed by way of Mons and Rheims to Nancy, to the court of the young Duke of Lorraine. There he met Cardinal Guise, and conferred with him as to the religious conditions in France and Scotland, which was under the rule of Mary Stuart, the Cardinal's niece. In the matter of the Council, the Duke replied that he would be guided entirely by the Emperor.

Commendone remained at Nancy until January 9th, 1562, when he set out, by way of Metz, Treves, Coblenz and Wiesbaden for Mayence. In this ancient episcopal city he remarked, to his great sorrow, that many Lutherans were endeavouring to undermine the faith of the inhabitants. It was all the greater consolation to him that the Jesuit college, founded a short time before by the Elector, Daniel Brendel, who supported it from his private means, was instructing the young people with great success in the Catholic spirit. On January 31st Commendone left Mayence and proceeded by way of Frankfort and Aschaffenburg to Wurzburg. The bishop of that city, Frederick von Wirsberg,

honoured the Pope's representative in every possible way; in consequence of his great age, however, he was not in a position to undertake the journey to Trent. From a religious point of view things were not unsatisfactory in the diocese of Wurzburg, as the bishop did everything in his power to maintain the people in the Catholic faith. The Catholics were also in the majority in the diocese of Bamberg, which Commendone visited on February 9th; the greater part of the people were Catholics, but the nobles, on the other hand, had gone over to the new doctrines, and because of the unfitness of the bishop, an aggravation of the evil was to be feared in the future.

From Bamberg the nuncio went to Nuremberg, where all Catholic services were forbidden. After that he once again came into Catholic territory. The old church was still unshaken at Eichstatt, Ingoldstadt and Freising, but there was no lack of the innovators, especially in lower Bavaria. Nevertheless, the Catholic attitude of Duke Albert, who heard mass every day, gave reason to hope that no religious upheaval would take place there. When Commendone reached Munich on February 11th, the Duke was at that moment sending an envoy to Pius IV, who was to travel by way of Trent. From Munich Commendone started upon his return journey to the south.

While Commendone was working in the interests of the Council, with skill, moderation, and in a spirit of conciliation, in the northern and western parts of the Empire, his colleague and fellow countryman, Delfino, was showing no less zeal in the legatine district assigned to him. He had left Naumburg in the middle of February, 1561, and had passed through Voightland in Franconia. As an Italian, he suffered a great deal from the unaccustomed climate, the roads being soaked with snow and rain, so that the journey was very difficult, yet in spite of all obstacles, Delfino did everything in his power to proceed quickly. He visited Bamberg first, and then Nuremberg and Wurzburg, whence he made a detour to Mergentheim to visit the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order. He then proceeded by way of Frankfort, to Mayence, Worms, Spire, and at length, at the beginning of May, reached Strasbourg. With regard to the Council, he found opinion generally agreed as to the necessity for such an assembly, but only very few of those who were invited were willing to put in an appearance at Trent. All the bishops, it is true, declared that they would submit to the Council, yet they were averse to the idea of personally undertaking the long journey. Some excused themselves on the ground of ill-health, or the weight of years, others by reason of their poverty, while yet others alleged the dangers to which their absence would expose their dioceses. In the Imperial cities the customary marks of honour were, indeed, shown to the nuncio, but the answers he received were very unsatisfactory, several, especially that of the city of Strasbourg, being a curt refusal. Delfino took the opportunity while he was in Strasbourg, of carrying on negotiations with several Italian Protestants, such as Count Thiene, Dr. Massaria and Girolamo Zanchi, who had sought refuge abroad. The nuncio also had repeated conversations with Vergerio at Strasbourg, Zabern and Schwarzach. All these efforts were without result; as was soon realized in Rome, they were to some extent even dangerous, for Vergerio certainly "only negotiated so as to give vent to his burning hatred against the Papacy, and to forge new weapons against it out of any offers which might be made for his return to the Church."

From Strasbourg, Delfino travelled by way of Freiburg, to the Bishop of Constance, who resided at Meersburg, and to the Abbot of Weingarten, both of whom declared themselves unable to go to Trent on account of their age. The Bishop of Merseburg, who visited Delfino at Ulm, at the end of May, made his decision dependent on the attitude of the Emperor. The municipal council of Ulm refused to separate themselves from the other adherents of the Confession of Augsburg; these last protested that they longed above all things for the restoration of religious unity, but in view of their own powerlessness could only express their earnest wishes for its realization. The University of Ingoldstadt, on the other hand, promised to send delegates to Trent, as did Duke Albert of Bavaria, whose court at Munich Delfino reached on June 4th. This prince, as Delfino wrote thence to Rome on the 10th, surpassed all others in his zeal for the preservation of the Catholic faith. Delfino also discussed with Albert the religious disunion among the Protestants, and they rightly came to the conclusion that the final settlement of religious differences lay, not with the theologians, but with the princes. Delfino repeated on this occasion, what he had previously insisted upon, that too great hopes for the position of the Catholic Church in Germany must not be built on the dissensions of the Protestants. The position continued to be one of extreme danger, and they must in every way do their utmost to induce some of the Protestants to take part in the Council.

The result of Delfino's mission was, on the whole, no more successful than that of his colleague, Commendone. He had, it is true, received promises from several bishops, but the Protestant Imperial cities had given him nothing but refusals.

In the same way as in Germany, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland also showed themselves, under various pretexts, unfavourable to the Council. The five Catholic Cantons, on the other hand, to which the Bishop of Como, Gian Antonio Volpi, communicated the conciliar bull, showed themselves ready to be represented at the Council by delegates. In a short time Freiburg, Soleure and Glarus joined the Forest Cantons.

CHAPTER VII.

Final Preparations for the Re-opening of the Council.

The attitude of the Emperor towards the question of the Council was of decisive importance. Hosius made the most urgent representations to him, but he could not succeed in obtaining Ferdinand's consent to the conciliar bull. At the end of January, 1561, the Emperor at length gave up at any rate his opposition to the solemn publication of the indulgence in Vienna, whereby he acknowledged in principle the Pope's project for a Council. On February 13th, 1561, however, when the answer of the Protestant princes arrived from Naumburg, the Emperor became more reserved than ever, and took up a still more dilatory attitude. Pius IV vainly tried, by making concessions in the matter of the visitation of the monasteries, and by sending the Papal chamberlain, Canobio, with the consecrated hat and sword, to bring about a change in his attitude. When Canobio and Hosius were conferring with Ferdinand on February 14th about the acceptance of the bull, he remarked that, personally, he had always agreed, but that he wished the Council to be a success, and to make sure that a war should not arise from its convocation; his care now must be to see that the Catholic bishops should be able to attend the Council without fear; it was his intention to make peace with the Protestant princes if they would promise this to the bishops who were travelling to the Council. Two days later the Emperor again declared to Hosius that he was himself in favour of the Council, but that for the moment he could not promise the appearance of the bishops; he wished, therefore, first to consult the Catholic Electors of the Empire. Hosius answered that there was danger in delay; if the French, tired of waiting, summoned a national council, and went their own way in ecclesiastical matters, the power of the Protestants would thereby be strengthened. Regardless of this, the Emperor persisted in his opinion that he could do nothing until he had conferred upon the subject with the Catholic princes, or at any rate with the ecclesiastical Electors. The continued efforts of Hosius during the following days had no better success, Ferdinand constantly repeating that he must await the answer of the ecclesiastical Electors.

While these negotiations were taking place, France appeared to have given up her opposition to the conciliar bull. At the beginning of March the Council of State resolved to accept the bull, which fact was communicated to the nuncio, Gualterio, and the envoy extraordinary, Lorenzo Lenzi, Bishop of Fermo. In an official note of March 3rd, which Abbot Niquet was to take to Rome, the participation of France in the Council was, it is true, made dependent on the consent of Ferdinand I and Philip II.

Before the news of this reached Rome, however, Pius IV had taken steps to appoint the legates for the Council. In doing this he wished to give unmistakable proof that he was in earnest about the holding of the Council. He had already

announced his intention of appointing Morone as a legate at the end of June, 1560. In October a report was current in Rome that Seripando and Gonzaga had been chosen to represent the Pope at the Council, in addition to Morone; the Spanish ambassador, Vargas, was working against Morone and Seripando. At the beginning of December, Morone formally declined the Pope's request; Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga also refused, but on Pius IV insisting, gave his consent on February 6th. Pius IV thereupon appointed him and Puteo legates to the Council in the consistory of February 14th, 1561. Three further legates were chosen on March 10th, from among the new Cardinals created on February 26th, namely Seripando, Hosius and Simonetta.

The Cardinals chosen to represent the Pope were in the highest degree suited for their distinguished position. At their head, as the president of the legatine college, stood Ercole Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, who had been invested with the purple by Clement VII, a man who was distinguished in many ways, and prominent on account of his great personal qualities. Even though his eager striving for the tiara had cast a shadow on his character, yet the son of the celebrated Isabella d'Este, on account of his varied experience extending over many years, his wide knowledge, his zeal for reform, his princely rank and his relationship to the Emperor, can only be described as an able and worthy representative of the Pope.

Ercole Gonzaga was above all things a diplomatist, and was not a learned theologian. What was lacking to him in this respect was possessed in full measure by the other legates; Simonetta, Puteo, Seripando and Hosius. Ludovico Simonetta, who belonged to a humanist family of Milan, held with Gonzaga the chief position, although in point of rank he was the junior of the legates, having only been appointed Cardinal on February 26th, 1561. A clever canonist, he appears as the real confidant of Pius IV, whose rights he always defended with fiery zeal and great skill. It is a significant fact that, with the exception of the president, Simonetta alone had a code at his disposal for his correspondence with Rome.

Giacomo Puteo, a Cardinal since 1551, had rendered important services to the Church under Julius III and Paul IV. Like Simonetta, he was possessed of a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of canon law. This made both men peculiarly suited to maintain the rights of the Holy See in the face of the prejudices against the Council.

Hosius and Seripando were distinguished in a similar manner by their theological learning, but their characters were as different as their origin. Girolamo Seripando, who belonged to a noble Apulian family, was undoubtedly the most distinguished man of whom the order of Augustinian Hermits could at that time boast. Paul III had appointed this native of southern Italy, who was distinguished as preacher, theologian, Ciceronian, Greek scholar, and above all as a friend of Catholic reform, to be their Prior General in 1538. In this capacity Seripando displayed burning zeal, working especially to bring about a thorough reform of his order and to purge it of the Lutheran elements which had penetrated into it. During the first period of the Council of Trent, Seripando had played a most distinguished part. His views had given occasion for the searching deliberations on the subject of justification, in the course of which the well-meant

but mistaken theory of compromise which he maintained had been repudiated. From that time Seripando had been mistrusted by the strict conservative party, headed by Carafa. Hostility on the part of the latter, as well as constant illness caused him, in 1551, to resign his position as General of his order, and also prevented any further participation in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, which had again been opened by Julius III, and he devoted himself to his studies at Naples. His appointment as Archbishop of Salerno in the year 1554, enabled him to live in his diocese, and far from Rome, during the pontificate of Paul IV, who was prejudiced against him. The new Pope called to mind the refined and sober minded scholar, summoned him to Rome, and on February 26th, 1561, admitted him into the Sacred College.

Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermland, a scholar like Seripando, was of quite a different nature. He had already rendered distinguished service to the Catholic restoration as the leader of the bishops of his native land, Poland, against the encroachments of Protestantism at various diets, as well as by his effective book "Confession of the Catholic Faith," when Pius IV appointed him as nuncio to Ferdinand I. His energetic, if at times harsh nature, as well as his somewhat clumsy person, rendered him, however, little suited for diplomatic negotiations. Pius IV nevertheless honoured his services and his learning when, at the great creation of February, 1561, he summoned him to the supreme senate of the Church.

The bull of appointment for the five legates of the Council is dated March 10th, 1561. The special position which Ercole Gonzaga was to occupy as president of the legatine college, is not mentioned in this; it was, however, sufficiently expressed by the consistent preference shown him by the Holy See.

In the appointment of the officials of the Council, which took place as early as January, Pius IV, to a great extent, reappointed those persons who had worked so successfully in a similar capacity under Paul III and Julius III. Gian Tommaso Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, was appointed commissary; he left Rome on January 26th, 1561, and reached Trent on February 24th. The important position of secretary of the Council was entrusted once more to Angelo Massarelli, Bishop of Telesse; his appointment followed on February 2nd, and he left Rome on March 11, reaching Trent on the 26th.

The legates then in Rome, Seripando and Simonetta, received the legatine cross in a secret consistory of March 17th. In the same consistory the Pope exhorted all the bishops to repair to Trent. The bull of appointment was sent to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga on March 22nd, with instructions to proceed immediately to Trent. On March 15th, Cardinal Borromeo informed Hosius by letter of his appointment as legate, instructing him to do everything in his power to induce the Emperor to send representatives to the Council, and then to go himself without delay to Trent. On March 21st Pius IV granted an indulgence to all those who, after receiving the sacraments, were present at the entry of the legates, and prayed for the successful issue of the Council. Seripando started for Trent on March 26th, and had a long conference with the Pope before he set out.

Ferdinand I, in his conferences with Hosius on March 18th and 19th, had replied to the earnest request for his decision by reproaching the Pope with

having occasioned the delay, since he had not yet answered the Emperor's question as to what he intended to do with regard to the reply of the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg. Ferdinand, however, had already been informed of the Pope's intentions in a letter from Arco, which arrived on March 18th. Pius IV had answered the ambassador, when he had handed him the documents from Naumburg, that, as the Council was summoned for Easter, he must send his legates to Trent, but that these would, in the meantime, hold no sessions with the bishops who were there; the Pope would await the decision of the Catholic princes of Germany. In spite of this, Ferdinand, when he was again urged by Hosius to appoint his representatives, kept repeating that he was waiting for the decision of the Pope, which was evidently a mere excuse to conceal his own indecision.

In the meantime, great difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the conciliar bull had also arisen in Spain. The theologians there objected to the evasion of the question as to whether the Council was a new one or a continuation of the former one, and insisted that the latter view must be definitely expressed. The Spanish bishops attached great importance to this question, because they wished to be sure that the decree of the Council concerning the subordination of the cathedral chapters would be upheld. The representations of the theologians were listened to the more favourably by Philip II as relations between the Pope and the king had been somewhat strained since the end of 1560, and the favourable opportunity of bringing pressure to bear on Pius IV could not be foregone by the Spanish privy council.

After Philip had refrained from giving a decisive answer in the month of February, he at last declared to the nuncio on March 12th, that he had decided not to accept the bull immediately nor to send his prelates, but to wait and see how things turned out in Germany and France, and that in the meantime he would lay his wishes for the alteration of the bull before the Pope. For this purpose Don Juan de Ayala was sent to Rome in March. He was ordered to ask from the Pope an express declaration that no new Council, but a continuation of the Council of Trent was convoked by the bull of November 29th, 1560, as the king had taken this for granted all through his negotiations. De Ayala arrived in Rome on April 16th, 1561, and had an interview with the Pope on the following day.

As the appearance of the Spanish bishops was impossible before an understanding had been arrived at with Philip II, and a delay in the opening of the Council had thus become imperative, Hosius received fresh instructions on April 16th, no longer to urge the Emperor to the immediate dispatch of his representatives to Trent, but only to hold them in readiness to go as soon as the Spanish bishops should have started for Trent. Canobio, who was again sent to Vienna with similar instructions on April 16th, was entrusted with further negotiations. Hosius was immediately to inform the Emperor that the Pope, in order to comply with the latter's wishes, was prepared to proceed to the Council, together with the whole College of Cardinals, as soon as he considered it fitting and necessary. As this, however, was not possible at the present moment, he proposed that after the opening of the Council he himself should take up his residence at Bologna, and the Emperor at Innsbruck, so as to be nearer to the seat of the Council, and to support it. Canobio handed this proposal to the Emperor in writing. In his answer on May 6th, Ferdinand referred to his efforts with the Protestants, and declared that he had neglected nothing in the matter which was

incumbent on him as Emperor; that he had already appointed envoys for the Council, whom he would send to Trent as soon as possible. In the event of the Pope going to Trent, he promised that he would not only proceed to Innsbruck, but that he would even go himself to the seat of the Council. By this Ferdinand had declared his acceptance of the conciliar bull. The untiring eloquence of Hosius had been to a great extent decisive in overcoming the objections of the Emperor, and in gaining his agreement to the appointment of the envoys. Encouraged by the success he had already met with the nuncio made an important request on May 8th and 18th, namely that Ferdinand should send a representative to Trent immediately. The Emperor, however, would not agree to this, although he promised that his representatives should be the first to appear at Trent, but that he would not send his envoys until the other powers had given orders to their representatives to start. The Emperor was strengthened in this resolve by a report from Arco, which arrived on May 25th, and conveyed to him the Pope's wish that he should act in this way, without paying attention to the pressure of Hosius.

Canobio also informed the Emperor that the Pope had resolved to convey to the Russian Tsar, Ivan Wassiljewicz, as well as to the King of Poland, a conciliar bull and a brief (of April 13th, 1561) just as his predecessors had invited the Greek Emperor to general councils. Ferdinand agreed to this mission, and Hosius decided that Canobio should undertake its discharge. When Canobio reached the court of the Polish King, Sigismund Augustus, the latter declared himself quite ready to support the Council, but he refused to allow the journey to Russia through his kingdom. Pius IV, however, would not give up his purpose of negotiating with the Russian Tsar, and without the knowledge of the Polish King or the Emperor, he appointed a new envoy to Russia in the person of Giovanni Geraldini, whose journey, however, ended in a Polish prison; he only succeeded in regaining his liberty in 1564.

One of the few countries from which gratifying news arrived was Portugal, the king of which country, Sebastian, was full of zeal for the Council. On March 17th, 1561, the nuncio, Prospero Santa Croce, reported to Borromeo from Lisbon: "It is the firm resolve of the king that all the prelates of his kingdom shall attend the Council, and in view of the importance of the matter, no excuses will be accepted. The king will send his envoy to Trent as soon as he has heard of the appointment of the legates." The Pope praised the zeal of the king in a brief of April 26th, 1561.

On April 6th, the Easter Sunday of 1561, on which day the Council should have been opened, there were only four bishops, but none of the legates, present in Trent. On April 16th Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando made their solemn entry into the city of the Council, being welcomed only by the Bishop of Trent, Cardinal Madruzzo, and nine other bishops. The indulgence of March 21st had been previously promulgated on April 12th. There could be no question of opening the Council at once, for the number of prelates at Trent increased but slowly during the following months. On April 21st the legates wrote to Borromeo that the Pope again should exhort the prelates in Rome to start soon, so that those in other countries might the more quickly make up their minds. The arrival, on May 18th, of the distinguished Archbishop of Braga, Bartolomeo de Martyribus, as the "first born of the ultramontane nations" was joyfully acclaimed; he



informed the legates that three or four more bishops from Portugal, and the envoy of the king, would soon follow. The Pope was particularly touched and gladdened at this news.

The negotiations with the powers were still going on. As the discussions with Don Juan de Ayala in Rome had led to no result, the Bishop of Terracina, Ottaviano Raverta, who had previously been nuncio in Spain, and was much beloved there, was sent to Philip II on May 23rd. He took with him important concessions on the points at issue with the Spanish government. He was authorized, with regard to the Council, to offer the king that he should be sent a secret brief, designating the bull of November the 18th as a "bull of continuation." When Raverta reached the Spanish court on June 13th, Philip had already given way in view of the grave development in affairs in France, and in order to gain the assistance of Pius IV against the Turks. The nuncio, Giovanni Campegio, Bishop of Bologna, had learned this at the beginning of June, and had at once informed Rome of it. The official announcement took the form of a royal circular on June 13th, which summoned all the bishops to prepare for their journey at the beginning of September; the number of those who were to go to the Council, and the definite time of their departure, was to be decided later. The brief which Philip II desired, containing the declaration concerning the continuation of the Council of Trent, was drawn up on July 17th, and was immediately dispatched, together with an autograph letter of the Pope of July 16th, declaring the validity of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

By this act of compliance on the part of Philip II the most dangerous rock was avoided, and the meeting of the Council was assured. On July 2nd, the official announcement of this favourable turn of affairs, which had so far only been known privately, arrived in Rome. Three days later the Pope communicated the news to the Emperor and exhorted him no longer to delay in appointing his prelates and envoys. A letter to the same effect was immediately sent to King Charles IX of France, while the other Catholic powers, such as the Signoria of Venice, also received news of the same important event.

When Hosius delivered the Papal letter to the Emperor on July 18th, the latter repeated the answer that he had already given to Canobio, namely that he had already resolved to send his envoys to Trent, but that he could not as yet name any fixed date for their departure. Even the successor of Hosius, the persuasive Delfino, after repeated exhortations, could only get the same answer, that the envoys of the Emperor would reach Trent before those of the Spanish king.

Hosius, who had long wished to go to Trent, left Vienna on July 29th; he reached the seat of the Council on August 20th, refusing, in his retiring way, any solemn reception.

At midsummer Pius IV was still working zealously on behalf of the Council. The legates, Puteo and Simonetta, received instructions in July to hold themselves in readiness for the journey. The nuncios were commissioned to see to the sending of the delegates to the Council, while the Pope himself attended to this in Italy. On August 1st briefs to this effect were addressed to all the bishops of the peninsula, on the 3rd to those of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Dalmatia, and on the 9th to the Archbishops of Cyprus and Crete. The prelates who were in

Rome were repeatedly admonished to start for Trent, but some delay was allowed to them as it was evident that the Spanish bishops could not reach Trent before October. When threatening news arrived from France, Pius IV declared to the Imperial ambassador on August 23rd, that he would irrevocably open the Council, even should Ferdinand I be unable to take part in it. On the following day the Pope decided in consistory that all the Italian bishops were to repair to Trent within eight days. Many of those who were resident in Rome resisted even now, so that the number of prelates at the seat of the Council increased but slowly.

Nevertheless, at first it was only Italians who were present at Trent; the arrival of the bishops from other countries, with the exception of the Portuguese who were already there, was still delayed. On September 26th the Bishop of Vich arrived, as the first of the Spaniards, but for the most part, it was November before the others one by one reached Trent. Philip II, after repeated exhortations from the nuncio, had decided to send several bishops at once ; the choice of the others who were to go to the Council was only made in September. The appointment and sending of an envoy was deferred until later.

The nuncio, Gualterio, had in September little to report from France that was gratifying, as far as the prospects of the departure of the envoys for the Council was concerned. The attitude of the French government towards this important question was now, as before, very ambiguous. On October 8th, indeed, Borromeo was able to write to the nuncio that he had heard that the Queen Regent proposed to send her orators and prelates; that, however, had been a vain hope, and had not been fulfilled, for the French council did not believe in the usefulness of an ecumenical synod, but hoped to be in a position to enter into a compromise with the Huguenots, by means of a religious conference and certain concessions on the part of the Pope. The decision arrived at by twenty-five of the bishops at the end of October, by which six of them were to proceed at once to San Martino, was not taken seriously. It was also most unfortunate that the Emperor proved himself so little desirous of keeping his promise, and of sending his envoys and the bishops of his hereditary dominions to the Council. He was indeed resolved to do so, as he had said, but he wished to wait as long as possible before sending the envoys, as he feared lest his representatives might arrive too soon at Trent, and have to remain there alone. He hesitated to give a definite answer till winter had actually arrived, and it was only when he had learned from his ambassador, Arco, that the Pope had given orders for the opening of the Council, that he promised Delfino, in a binding form, on December 1st, that his envoys would certainly be in Trent by the middle of January. Delfino reported this on December 1st to the legates at Trent, and to Borromeo in Rome. There were also difficulties with regard to the persons who were to be sent, but these were all settled by the end of December as follows : Ferdinand was to be represented as Emperor by two envoys—by an ecclesiastic, the former Bishop of Vienna, and Archbishop designate of Prague, Anton Brus von Müglitz; and by a layman, Count Sigismund von Thun; as King of Hungary he was to be represented by the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Georg Draskovich. In this way the remainder of the year 1561 passed away, without the Council having been opened.

In a consistory of November 10th, Mark Sittich von Hohenems was appointed legate to the Council in the place of the invalid Puteo, who was unable to travel, and it was further resolved that the departure of the fourth legate,

Simonetta, for Trent, which had been expected for months, but always postponed, should now take place at once. The choice of Mark Sittich, which had been made principally on account of his relationship to the Pope, was not a fortunate one; he may also have been chosen because, by his birth, and by reason of his bishopric of Constance, he belonged to the German nation. On November 15th, the indulgence bull for the happy issue of the Council was published; it announced that the Pope intended to hold a solemn procession from St. Peter's to S. Maria del Popolo on November 23rd.

Cardinal Simonetta, who had been detained in Rome by the important affairs of the Dataria, left on November 20th and arrived in Trent on December 9th. In the credentials for the other legates, which were entrusted to him, the Pope declares his wish, now that he had waited long enough for all the princes, that the Council should no longer be delayed, but opened at once, and proceeded with as quickly as possible. In a postscript in his own hand, the Pope says: "We are not in the habit of using many words, but rather prefer deeds. Hitherto we have waited sufficiently long for all the princes and the matter can therefore no longer be delayed, but the Council must be opened as soon as possible, and continued with all speed; the former Council of Trent will once more be resumed, nor may it be repudiated in any of its parts. We wish, as a man of honour, as a good Christian, and as a good Pope, that a good Council shall be held, and that its one aim be directed to the service of God, of the faith, and of religion, to the universal well-being of the whole of Christendom, as well as to the honour of the Holy See. We have made it our object to finish this Council, to confirm it and carry it into effect, and by it We desire the union of all good Catholics, and enduring peace through the whole of Christendom, so that We may serve God in concord, and be able to use all our strength against the infidel and the enemies of the Christian name. When this object is attained, We shall willingly and gladly die." A second autograph letter from the Pope, accrediting Cardinal Simonetta, was addressed to the Cardinal of Mantua alone, in order to emphasize the peculiar position of that prelate as head of the legates, and the first in point of rank.

In the instructions given to Simonetta, the intentions of the Pope, as to which the legate was to inform his colleagues, were set forth in greater detail. They were to the following effect : immediately after his arrival, the Council was to be opened, and the work taken in hand by the prelates who were present. The Council was to be principally engaged in finishing the little that still remained to be dealt with as regards dogma, especially the doctrine of the Sacraments; this was the most important thing. The reform of abuses was already settled, or at least so far advanced that it could easily be brought to a close. In this connection it was taken for granted that only such reforms were to be dealt with at Trent as did not affect the Roman court, for the Pope looked upon these as his own prerogative. As far as the question of continuation was concerned, Simonetta was authorized by his instructions, in the event of any dispute arising, to declare openly that the Council was a continuation of the previous one; the decrees of Trent, published under Paul III, and Julius III, were to be regarded as valid, and under no circumstances to be called in question. The legates were to prevent the question of the Pope's supremacy over the Council from being made the subject of discussion, especially as the former Council had accepted the Papal supremacy without question. Should matters, however, go so far, that the prelates were not to be turned from the treatment of this article, then the legates were to suspend

the Council, and inform the Pope by courier; he would then take further measures, and either remove the Council to another place or dissolve it altogether.

Two further documents for the legates were probably taken to Trent by Simonetta: a brief of September 22nd, 1561, which authorized the legates, in case of need, to remove the Council at their own discretion to another city, and another brief of the same date which decided that if the Pope should die during the Council, the choice of his successor was not to belong to the Council, but to the Cardinals.

Shortly before the arrival of Simonetta, during the night between December 8th and 9th, the report of Delfino had reached Trent, that in accordance with his promise, the Emperor's envoys would arrive by the middle of January. The legates at once informed all the prelates present, and resolved, in consideration of this news, to postpone the opening of the Council until January 15th; Delfino was informed of this on December 9th. In a letter to Borromeo, dated December nth, the legates gave their reasons for thus deviating from the expressed will of the Pope, and begged for his approval. This was granted them through Borromeo on December 20th, and it was added that should the arrival of the Imperial envoys, or the representatives of any other great power, still be imminent, then a further short post-ponement would be allowed.

Immediately after the arrival of Simonetta, the legates consulted together as to what matter they should deal with first; they decided that it would be best to commence with the Index of forbidden books, so as to avoid bringing up the question of the continuation at the very outset, by going on with the doctrine of the Sacraments. Simonetta communicated this intention to Rome on December nth, and the Pope consented. Before the answer arrived, however, the legates returned to the question on December 18th, paying special attention to the objections and difficulties, and changed their proposal in such a way that they now decided that it would be advisable to put the question to the assembled prelates in the first congregation after the opening, as to whether they thought it best to continue to deal with the articles not yet decided, or to deliberate upon new ones; they were of opinion that everyone would accept the continuation, and that in this way nobody would be able to say anything against the Pope, as the Council itself would have declared its opinion. To this they received an answer from the Pope, through Borromeo, on December 27th, that His Holiness left it entirely to their discretion to act as they thought best. On January 3rd the legates, who had been busily employed during these days with the preliminary work of the Council, sent to Rome a draft of a decree for the first session, which had been drawn up by Seripando.

In a consistory on December 17th, the Pope, who, in spite of the difficulties which still existed, was firmly resolved on a speedy opening of the Council, bestowed the legatine cross on Mark Sittich. The departure of the Cardinal, however, was delayed until the new year, and he did not reach Trent until January 30th, 1562.

The Pope, as he informed the legates through Cardinal Borromeo on December 31st, 1561, had chosen January 18th, 1562, a Sunday, on which day the

feast of St. Peter's Chair fell, for the opening day of the Council. On the receipt of Delfino's information that the Imperial envoys would hardly be in Trent before the end of January, it was left to the legates, on January 7th, to postpone the opening for another eight or ten day

As there were already about a hundred prelates assembled at Trent, the legates resolved to keep to January 18th. On the 15th the first preparatory General Congregation assembled. It was held at the residence of Cardinal Gonzaga, who, as first legate, opened it with an address and prayer. Then the secretary of the Council, Massarelli, read aloud the decrees arranged for the inaugural session, and a Papal brief, by which, in order to avoid disputes concerning precedence, the order of rank among the Fathers of the Council was decided. According to this the patriarchs were to come first, the archbishops second, and the bishops third; the primates, on the other hand, were to have no precedence over the other archbishops; within the various ranks, the fathers were to be arranged according to the date of their appointment.

Before the meeting of the General Congregation, the legates had been successful in settling a difficulty which might have proved very dangerous for the Council which was on the point of being opened. On January 5th, the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, had gone to Seripando to demand, in the name of the Spanish bishops, that every ambiguity should be avoided at the opening, and that the Council should be clearly and definitely designated as a continuation of the former one. On January 6th Guerrero repeated his demand in the presence of the four legates and Cardinal Madruzzo, and threatened to make a protest. The legates did everything they could to avoid this, and at the last moment their efforts were crowned with success. The archbishop withdrew his request, after having been assured by the legates that no expression would be used at the opening of the Council which could be taken as a declaration against continuation ; the Council would be opened exactly in accordance with the text of the bull of convocation, the declaration of continuation would follow at the fitting time, and at the close, the earlier decrees, drawn up under Paul III and Julius III together with the new decisions, would receive the confirmation of the Pope.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reopening of the Council of Trent. Sessions XVII to XXII.

Two complete years, full of work and anxieties, had been necessary, in order to overcome the “sea of difficulties” which the reopening of the Council had had to face. The satisfaction of Pius IV was therefore great and fully justified when, at the end of the third year of his pontificate, he at last saw all his efforts crowned with success

It was a momentous day for the Church and the Papacy when all the members of the Council present in Trent assembled in the ancient church of S. Peter, on the morning of January 18th, 1562, in order to proceed in procession to the neighbouring Cathedral for the purpose of the solemn opening of the General Council of the Church. The members of the secular and regular clergy of the city formed the head of the procession, and these were followed by the mitred abbots, ninety bishops, eleven archbishops, and three patriarchs. Then followed the Duke of Mantua, the nephew of the Cardinal, who had come to Trent for the solemnity, Cardinal Madruzzo, and the four Papal legates, Gonzaga, Simonetta, Seripando and Hosius, whose dignity was denoted by an infula of gold material. The secular ambassadors should have followed the legates, but none had as yet arrived. Four generals of orders followed, with the Auditor of the Roman Rota, the Consistorial Advocate, the Promoter of the Council, and lastly the magistrates of Trent and other lay persons of distinction.

Cardinal Gonzaga celebrated High Mass, and the sermon was delivered by the Archbishop of Reggio, Gaspare del Fosso. After the usual ceremonies, the Secretary of the Council read the Bull of Indiction, and the Archbishop of Reggio the two decrees which had been accepted in the General Congregation of January 15th, which were now approved. Four Spaniards however, led by the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, protested against the decision that the Council was to act under the presidency, and to follow the proposals, of the legates. During the session, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Georg Draskovich, one of the orators of the princes, arrived; he was to represent Ferdinand I as King of Hungary.

For the moment, the question of the continuation was only evaded. The legates resolved, in view of the widely divergent views and demands of the powers, and in order not to impede the course of the Council, to deal at first with matters of secondary importance. In the General Congregation of January 27th, they submitted three articles for discussion at the next Session; these concerned prohibited books, and the drawing up of a letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants. It was further decided to add four more prelates, who were to examine the mandates of the procurators of the bishops who were prevented from coming. The articles submitted were dealt with in ten General Congregations. On

January 30th, Mark Sittich, the long expected fifth legate, arrived ; he brought the decision of Pius IV on the much debated question as to whether the city of the Council should have a protective force of Papal troops. The Pope decided that the defence of the Council should be entrusted to Cardinal Madruzzo, as the temporal lord of the district, and that a monthly allowance of 200 scudi should be assigned to him from the treasury of the Council.

The Bishop of Fünfkirchen had at first to remain inactive, as he had arrived in Trent without mandate or instructions. It was only on January 31st, when the Archbishop of Prague, Brus von Müglitz, one of the envoys who was to represent Ferdinand I as Emperor, had arrived, that both the representatives of the Hapsburg were solemnly received in the General Congregation on February 6th. The Portuguese envoy, Fernando Martinez de Mascareynas, arrived in Trent on February 7th. In order to avoid disputes between the ecclesiastical and secular representatives of the princes, such as had already arisen between the Spanish and Portuguese envoys, the legates issued a table of precedence on February 8th. The Portuguese envoy, who soon proved himself a loyal friend to the legates, was introduced at the General Congregation on the following day, and the second Imperial envoy, Sigismund von Thun, who had now also arrived, was introduced on February 10th.

On February 13th the three representatives of Ferdinand I handed to the legates a memorandum, in which, in accordance with their instructions of January 1st, the following requests were set forth : In order to avoid giving offence to the Protestants, it was desired that no pronouncement as to the continuation of the Council should be made at present; that the next Session should be postponed as long as possible; that questions of dogma should in the meantime be adjourned, and less important matters dealt with; a condemnation of the Confession of Augsburg should be avoided in drawing up the Index; the Protestants must receive safe-conduct in the widest sense of the term, and in the form which they themselves wished. The provisional reply of the legates to these demands was drawn up in very conciliatory terms.

On February 17th the legates admonished the fathers of the Council to keep secret the questions submitted to them for consideration; they were only to be made known when the decrees had been drawn up and published in the public Session.

At the General Congregation of February 24th the Bishop of Fünfkirchen delivered his mandate as Hungarian envoy. On the same day the Jubilee indulgence granted by the Pope in a brief of February 14th, was published.

The XVIIIth Session, the second under Pius IV, was held on February 26th. The five legates were present, with Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent, three patriarchs, sixteen archbishops, a hundred and five bishops, four abbots, five generals of orders, fifty theologians and four orators. High Mass was celebrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Antonio Elio, after which a sermon was preached by Antonio Cauco, Archbishop of Patras. Two decrees were published: one which announced the reform of the Index, and dealt with the invitation of all to the Council (*De librorum delectu et omnibus ad concilium fide publica invitandis*); in its second part it contained an invitation to the Protestants to present

themselves at Trent, which was expressed in a noble spirit of peace by the second decree, the next Session of the Council was, in accordance with the wishes of the Emperor, postponed till May 14th. In order that the letter of safe-conduct for the Protestants should be granted as soon as possible, it was resolved that a General Congregation should have the power to issue this with full validity. They acted on this decision on March 2nd and 4th, and on the latter day the letter of safe-conduct was solemnly granted, which fact was made public on the 8th, by a notice affixed to the doors of the Cathedral in Trent. The designation "heretic" was in this replaced by the milder description "those who do not agree with us in faith, and believe otherwise than the Holy Roman Church teaches."

Pius IV was most anxious that the Council should quickly be brought to completion by the immediate treatment of dogmatic questions. It was only after a consultation with five Cardinals that he had yielded to the request of the Emperor to postpone the next Session of the Council to a later date. A letter from Borromeo of February 20th gave permission for the next Session to be postponed till the beginning of May at the latest; in the meantime, in order to meet the wishes of the Emperor in this respect as well, they should not deal with dogma, but only with letters of safe-conduct and similar matters, as well as with several general points of reform; the Pope would himself undertake the reform of the Curia. After the legates had received these instructions on February 24th, they resolved, in the General Congregation of the 25th, to fix the next Session for May 14th. At the same time as they informed the Pope of this, they made him a proposal that a special envoy should be sent to the Emperor, in order to prevent further delays. The Pope agreed to this, and suggested that Commendone might be entrusted with this mission, when he came to Trent after the completion of his journey through Germany. Commendone, who reached Trent on March 7th, was prepared to undertake this new task, but wished first to go to Venice for a few days.

The position, however, had in the meantime been altered by the new demands presented by the Imperial envoys on March 5th the reform of the German clergy was to be taken in hand at once, and a solemn invitation to the Council addressed to the Protestants. The legates, in their reply, made very reasonable objections to these demands; the Pope also wished to refuse them, and was specially averse to the second one, for an invitation of the Protestants to the Council, which they did not recognize as such, would only lead to a further delay in its activities, without being of any other use, as the Protestants had already received an invitation, which they had only disregarded and despised. As it was now feared that the proposed envoy from the Council to the Emperor might be won over by the latter to his views, the Pope thought it wiser that the whole mission should if possible be given up. This in fact was done; the legates resolved to make their representations to the Emperor, which were to have been entrusted to Commendone, through the nuncio, Delfino. However, before the letter to Delfino, drafted on April 2nd, was dispatched, a report from the nuncio, of March 30th, arrived in Trent on April 6th, which announced that the Emperor had withdrawn his demand for a postponement of the proceedings of the Council. On March 29th the Pope gave instructions to the legates through Borromeo that they were no longer to delay the deliberations. Beginning with the next Session, they were to proceed to the treatment of questions of dogma, and thereby, though tacitly, and without any express declaration, the continuation would become an



actual fact; the Spaniards would certainly be pleased to have this as an accomplished fact, while on the other hand all unnecessary offence would be avoided. The Pope also declared that, in the event of its being necessary, the highly controversial question whether the bishops' duty of residence was of divine or human institution, was admissible. This difficult point had been raised when the legates, without waiting for the Pope's reply, had, on March 15th, begun the treatment of questions of reform by submitting twelve articles.

At first it was only private discussions in which this important controversy came into the foreground, but soon it was being discussed with much heat in the widest circles. Cardinal Simonetta stood out from the first as the strong opponent of any definition of a divine law of the duty of residence; he stood above all his colleagues in knowledge of canon law, and he clearly recognized the danger which this vexed question concealed; however, the wishes of Ferdinand's envoys weighed more in the end than these fears.

In the latter half of March the real business of the Council had to a certain extent to give way to the solemn receptions and to the ceremonies of Holy Week. On March 16th the envoy of the Spanish king, Fernando Francisco de Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, was received in the General Congregation; on March 18th, the envoy of the Duke of Florence, Giovanni Strozzi; on March 20th, the envoys of Catholic Switzerland, Melchior Lussy, chief magistrate of Unterwalden, as orator of the seven Catholic cantons, and Abbot Joachim Eichhorn of Einsiedeln, as procurator of the prelates and clergy of the seven cantons; on April 6th, the procurators of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Hungary, Johann di Kolosváry, Bishop of Csanád, and Andreas Sbardelato Dudith, Bishop of Knin.

The discussion, at first only of the first four reform articles, was now begun in the General Congregation of April 7th. It then happened that, at the first article, the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero, who was the principal spokesman of the Spaniards, asked for a decision of the question which was so variously interpreted by theologians, whether the duty of residence had its origin in divine or in human law. Whoever voted on this question with the Archbishop of Granada, in favour of the divine law, at the same time pronounced in favour of the opinion that in the episcopal consecration there was immediately conferred by God a certain though still indeterminate power of government, while the Pope, in conferring a bishopric, did no more than designate the person to whom this power of government was applied. This, however, was contested by many, and on account of the deeply-rooted differences of opinion, the discussions proved to be as long as they were stormy. In the discussions most of the Spaniards, filled with zeal for the defence and consolidation of the episcopal dignity, spoke in favour of the divine right; they hoped from this to be able to gain a strengthening of episcopal jurisdiction as against the central power of the Pope and a limitation of Roman dispensations. Beyond this practical object the matter had also a very wide importance on the ground of principle. It was not only a question of words, as some later believed who had only considered the matter superficially. What was being discussed was rather a matter of profound theology, upon the answer to which the most important consequences depended. The controversy affected the innermost constitution of the Church, and involved in itself the old antithesis between the Papal and episcopal systems. Cardinal Simonetta saw very clearly the weapon against the Papal primacy contained in the theory of the Spaniards, as

well as the danger which would follow an affirmative decision. A definition of the divine right, so he feared, would not only give the Protestants an opening for fresh attacks upon the Curia, but would also injure important interests of the Holy See, both in reality and in theory; it would bind the hands of the Pope and would create an important prejudice in favour of the superiority of the Council. Because he did not wish to see the ancient and essential rights of the Roman primacy lessened, Simonetta did everything in his power to avert this danger. His forebodings were only shared by Hosius, and not by Gonzaga and Seripando. For the rest, it was almost entirely Italian prelates who were on his side, and their authority was weakened by the fact that, on account of their poverty, they received pecuniary support from the Curia, in consequence of which they did not appear to be independent.

How greatly the views on this subject, which, in default of any binding definition on the part of the Church, was still an open one, were in need of being cleared up, appeared in the voting which took place in the General Congregation on April 20th, on the question whether the duty of residence was to be defined as being based on divine institution. It had been settled that the question was to be answered by a simple "yes" or "no." As many did not keep to this, a confusion arose which is reflected to this day in the very discrepant statements given by the various authorities. According to the notes made by Seripando, 67 fathers answered with a simple "yes," and 33 with a simple "no"; 38 gave a conditional vote; some of these voted in the affirmative, if the Pope were first asked for his opinion, others in the negative, if the Pope were not asked; Cardinal Madruzzo remarked that he would abide by what he had said in a previous session; the Bishop of Budua said that he approved of its publication. The Benedictine Abbots answered in various ways, the question then arising as to whether they were to have only one vote, as in the time of Paul III. The result therefore was simply that a bare majority would come to no decision until the Pope had given his opinion on the question. The session had been more excited than any held so far. The noise and strife, said Musotti, was so great that the avoidance of a schism could only be ascribed to a miracle.

The confusion was still further increased by disunion among the legates. After the voting, Cardinal Gonzaga was inclined to count the votes of those who said "yes, with the assent of the Pope," with the votes of those who wished for a definition of the divine right unconditionally, and then to proceed without further ceremony, but as Cardinals Simonetta and Hosius justly protested, he was obliged to give up the idea.

The legates sent a petition to the Pope on the very day of the session, that in view of the divergence of opinion, he would decide the matter himself. Three days later, Gonzaga and Seripando sent a kind of minority vote to Rome, in which the sending of such messages to the Pope was deprecated, because the idea that there was a want of freedom in the Council would be strengthened among the Protestants as well as among many Catholics. Gonzaga and Seripando therefore advised that the Pope should refrain from making a decision, and should admonish the prelates to settle the matter according to their consciences.

On the same April 20th a commission was appointed to draw up a decree embodying the points of reform already dealt with. From April 21st to the 24th,

six more of the twelve articles were discussed. On April 28th, a letter from the French envoy, Lansac, was read, in which he announced his arrival, but begged that the Session of May 14th might be postponed, as he could not be in Trent by then. Almost all the Spanish prelates protested against a postponement of the Session, but they were by no means in the majority. At length a way was found to please both parties; it was resolved on April 30th to hold the Session fixed for May 14th on that day, but only to read the mandates of the newly arrived envoys ; the publication of the decrees already determined on was to take place at a Session to be held eight days later.

About this time various circumstances contributed to render the position of the Council exceedingly difficult, not the least of which were the many acts of interference on the part of the princes and their representatives. The matter of the continuation on the one hand, and the question as to the duty of residence on the other, were the subjects which disturbed the peaceful carrying on of the deliberations.

The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Vargas, had handed an autograph letter from his master to the Pope on April 19th, making at the same time a protest, both verbally and in writing, against the exclusive right of the legates to bring forward proposals, and against the postponement of the explicit declaration of continuation. Cardinal Borromeo informed the legates of this on April 25th, and three days later Pius IV wrote to them that he had given the Portuguese ambassador, Lorenzo Perez, who was returning home, a commission to Philip II to vindicate the Papal policy with regard to the Council. The legates, on their part, drew up for Philip II on May 7th, a detailed memorandum of vindication concerning the questions contested by Spain. They also informed Cardinal Borromeo on May 7th that they had intended to declare the continuation explicitly at the next Session, but that as the Imperial envoys had urgently protested against this only the day before, they were still undecided what course to pursue. The representatives of Ferdinand I. again protested on May 8th against the words in the draft of the decree of prorogation fixed for the next Session, which they thought might be understood as a declaration of continuation. A corresponding alteration was accordingly made. On May 10th the Spanish envoy, the Marquis of Pescara, had returned to Trent; he brought fresh instructions from Philip II which urgently demanded an explicit declaration of continuation. The Imperial envoys were equally insistent on the other side. On May 12th it was agreed that in the Session immediately following (May 14th), they would merely publish a decree postponing the next Session from May 21st to June 4th; they must abstain from any declaration of continuation, but the legates must give the Spanish envoy hopes of this being made in the Session in June. By this postponement of the Session the Imperial envoys gained time to seek further instructions from Ferdinand I.

In Rome, on May 12th, the French ambassador, in conjunction with Abbot Niquet of St. Gildas, who had arrived from France, presented to the Pope from their government a fresh request for the postponement of the proceedings of the Council? The Pope was unwilling to agree to this, and since he was being continually urged by the Spanish ambassador to proclaim the continuation, he instructed the legates on May 13th to proceed with the discussion in the Council of matters of dogma and reform as an express continuation of the Council of

Trent, without paying any attention to the remonstrances which were to be expected from France and elsewhere.

At Trent, on May 14th, in the XIXth Session, the third under Pius IV, as had been agreed, nothing was done beyond the publication of the decree of postponement to the 4th of June, and the reading of the mandates. The legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, eighteen archbishops, a hundred and thirty-one bishops, two abbots, four generals of orders, twenty-two theologians and eight orators (among them the envoy of Duke Albert V of Bavaria, who had arrived on May 1st) were present.

Three days before the XIXth Session the developments in the controversy as to the duty of residence had led the Pope to make an important pronouncement.

Since they were not in possession of sufficient information for the treatment of the questions of reform, the legates had already, on April nth, sent to Rome a confidential messenger in the person of Federigo Pendaso, who was to find out the wishes of the Pope, especially in the matter of the duty of residence. Pendaso had arrived in the Eternal City on April 20th, but his return was so long delayed that reports were current of the imminent translation of the Council, or of its sudden ending. No such plans, however, were contemplated. The cause of the delay was the embarrassment of the Pope as to the attitude he should adopt with regard to the question of the duty of residence, as to which such great differences of opinion prevailed among the fathers. In view of the great number who held that opinion, and the attitude of Vargas, a plain rejection of the divine authority for the duty of residence did not seem to be opportune, especially because many saw in a declaration of the divine right one of the most efficacious means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, now so fallen into decay, and thus they would incur the suspicion that the Curia was seeking to thwart the work of reform. Above all, however, the most vital interests of the Holy See were involved in the question. If he gave way, he would have to bear in mind that those fathers who had spoken out openly against the definition, thinking thereby to render an important service to the Pope, must not lightly be thrown over. A hurried definition was therefore to be avoided, because the laying down of an article of faith called for complete security, and of that, in the face of such violent opposition, there could be no question.

On account of the difficulties which stood in the way of a definite decision, either in one sense or the other, Pius IV thought it best to leave the question open for the time being, and to send Pendaso back to Trent only with decisions as to the reforms that were to be undertaken (May 3rd).<sup>3</sup> When he was near Mantua, Pendaso injured himself by a fall from his horse to such a degree that he was unable to continue his journey. He therefore dictated to Giovanni Francesco Arrivabene, who had been sent to meet him by the legates, his instructions, which were to the following effect : the Pope is resolved on the reform of the whole Church, and especially of the Roman Curia. That of the Penitentiaria is already in hand, and that of the other offices will follow, in spite of the financial losses involved. The Pope earnestly admonished the legates to proceed with all possible moderation, lest the movement for reform within the Church, instead of contributing to the salvation of Christendom, should degenerate into a mere

upsetting of the existing order; they were not lightly to lend an ear to every claim and request, but to proceed in agreement with the head of the Church. With regard to the question of residence, the Pope still reserved a decisive definition; in view of the differences of opinion among the fathers, and the prevailing excitement, it would be better to wait for a more favourable and a calmer time.

Besides these instructions, Pendaso was the bearer of 95 articles of reform, furnished with notes by the Pope himself, which had been drawn up by the private secretary of Pius IV, on the basis of the reform libellum of the Spanish prelates, which had been sent to Rome by Simonetta on April 6th. In the meantime, Simonetta, by his expostulations, had been successful in inducing his colleagues to leave on one side the question of residence, and to treat of it only in connection with the discussion of the Sacrament of Holy Orders. This was reported to Cardinal Borromeo by the legates on May 11th.

But in the meantime a change of opinion had been brought about in the mind of Pius IV. Reports from various correspondents painted the disunion and confusion at Trent in such vivid colours that the whole Curia was stirred to its depths. The Pope's mind was disturbed more and more by the secret warnings which reached him in great numbers, which came to him partly directly, and partly through Borromeo, from fathers of the Council who were known to be zealous partisans of the Holy See. A profound impression was made by several reports from Simonetta, who had from the first been definitely opposed to the declaration that the duty of residence was founded on divine right. The zeal of the Cardinal, as well as his wide knowledge of canon law, were bound to place his opinion above suspicion, and to give real justification to his apprehension of dangers, which the eyes of the other legates had not detected. In addition to this there had come to Rome other communications, which not only exaggerated, but even distorted occurrences which had taken place in Trent; among these there were even angry calumnies against Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando.

Pius IV considered the matter of such grave importance that, contrary to his usual custom, he sought counsel from the Cardinals. He formed six of them into a special commission, and a consultation with them led to the conclusion that the Pope could no longer maintain his former attitude of reserve. A resolution was therefore come to, to avert the dangers that threatened at Trent by an extraordinary step: to associate with the legates who were there three new ones; Cardinals Cicada, de la Bourdaisière, and Navagero were proposed for this office. Cicada seemed to be especially suited for the defence of the rights of the Holy See, as not only was he distinguished for his great knowledge of canon law, but also for his great intrepidity. Bourdaisière, as Bishop of Angouleme, had always shown great zeal for religion, and as the ambassador of France to the Holy See he had won in a high degree the good-will and confidence of the Pope; he would be in a position to render valuable services in averting the difficulties which were to be feared from the French government. Navagero, too, possessed, in addition to a truly ecclesiastical spirit, great diplomatic skill, of which he had given proofs as Venetian ambassador at different courts, and finally in Rome. It might therefore be hoped that he would be successful in restoring harmony among the legates.

Pius IV, in his own vigorous way, informed the legates of his intention on May 11th. He did not refrain from making bitter reproaches to them on account of

their want of unity in treating the question of the duty of residence. They should have prevented this complicated question, which had already been postponed in the time of Paul III from being made a subject of discussion, especially as they themselves were not of one mind regarding it. "Remember," he wrote, "that you are all legates together, and that you must proceed in complete agreement, instead of causing scandal by disunion." In addition to this exhortation to harmony, he repeated in his letter the declaration that the matter of the duty of residence must be adjourned for the present, and the treatment of dogma and reform proceeded with instead, without delay.

The legates, who received this letter on May 15th, answered two days later; they would do their utmost, and hoped to succeed in postponing the question of the duty of residence at least until the treatment of Holy Orders; against the reproach of disunion they attempted to justify themselves. Cardinals Gonzaga and Seripando, who understood quite well that the reproaches of the angry Pope were chiefly directed against themselves, addressed special letters of justification to Cardinal Borromeo on May 16th and 17th, which left nothing to be desired from the point of view of frankness. Cardinal Gonzaga at the same time announced his intention of leaving Trent as soon as Cicada, to whom, because of his seniority, the presidentship of the legatine college must belong, had arrived. It was only after the Pope had given up the proposed mission of new legates, that the deeply offended Cardinal of Mantua allowed himself to be persuaded to remain for the time being.

On May 25th the legates submitted to the fathers of the Council, as the result of the deliberations which had taken place so far, the draft of a decree, in nine reform canons, to be published at the next Session. On the same day they reported to Rome the ill-success of their negotiations with the Spaniards, who demanded that the question of the duty of residence should be decided at the next Session, or, if that were not possible, either that the Session should be delayed, or that they should have a promise that the matter should be decided at the following one. It was only with great difficulty that Mendoza, Bishop of Salamanca, who, by arrangement with the legates, had undertaken the task of mediation, succeeded in dissuading the leader of the Spanish prelates, the Archbishop of Granada, from his purpose of making a protest against the postponement of the question. Besides this the Spaniards insisted, as they had done previously, that the Council should be expressly declared to be a continuation of the former Council of Trent. In this connection the situation was further aggravated by the unmannerly attitude taken up by the French envoys, whose leader, de Lansac, the confidant of Catherine de' Medici, reached Trent on May 18th. A few days later, his two colleagues, Arnaud du Ferrier, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Gui du Faur de Pibrac, Chief Justice of Toulouse, both of whom were suspected of heresy, also arrived. The representatives of France were received at a General Congregation on May 26th; they came with a demand that the Council should be expressly declared to be a new one, and not a continuation. At the same time a letter, dated May 22nd, arrived from Ferdinand I to his envoys, and another from Delfino to the legates, announcing that the Emperor not only refused his consent to an express declaration of continuation, but threatening, if this were made, to recall his representatives.

The legates, who reported the attitude taken up by the Emperor to Rome on May 26th, had reason to fear the dissolution of the Council. While they were still seeking to find a way out of this exceedingly difficult position, they received, on the evening of June 2nd, a letter from Pius IV, dated May 30th, which filled them with dismay, for it contained express orders that, in accordance with the promise made to the Spanish king, they were to hold to the express declaration of continuation which had already been ordained. The legates were convinced that the carrying out of this command would not only lead to the dissolution of the Council, but would also, since the representative of Spain, the Marquis of Pescara, had agreed to a postponement, throw the whole blame for this upon the Pope. They therefore resolved not to carry out the order, which had been issued under the influence of Vargas, and to justify this step in Rome through Cardinal Mark Sittich. His mission, however, was not required, as, on the following day, a second letter from the Pope arrived, dated May 31st, which revoked the first one, and left it to the discretion of the legates to refrain from making an express declaration of continuation at the next Session, so long as the actual carrying on of the labours of the Council was taken in hand.

After the necessary preparations had been made in the General Congregation of June 3rd, the XXth Session, the fourth under Pius IV was held on June 4th. At this assembly, all the legates, with the exception of Gonzaga, were present, as well as Cardinal Madruzzo, two patriarchs, eighteen archbishops, a hundred and thirty-seven bishops, two abbots, four generals of orders, twenty-eight theologians, and eleven orators. High Mass was celebrated by Bishop Mendosa of Salamanca, and the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Famagosta, Girolamo Ragazzoni. On account of the difficulties caused by the questions of residence and continuation, no decrees were published, only the mandates of the Swiss, Salzburg, and French orators and procurators being read, and a decree of prorogation, which fixed the next Session for June 16th. The greater number of the fathers accepted this decree, but thirty-eight raised an objection to the omission of any mention of the duty of residence and continuation.

In the General Congregation of June 6th, Cardinal Gonzaga submitted, as the subject of the next dogmatic decree, five articles on Communion in both kinds, and the Communion of children. Thirty-one bishops declared their agreement to this proposal, but only on condition that the duty of residence should also be dealt with. The same minority also addressed a very outspoken petition to the Pope on the same day, in which they defended their position with regard to the duty of residence as a divine command, and protested against the tendency ascribed to them of intending to undermine the authority of the Holy See. Pius IV replied on July 1st that it was his desire that freedom of speech and discussion should exist in the Council, but at the same time he warned the fathers against divisions and discord, so as not to give the Protestants an excuse to revile and disparage the Council.

The five articles were minutely examined and discussed from every point of view by sixty-three theologians, in twenty-one meetings, from June 10th to the 23rd. In spite of differences of opinion as to several points, an unanimous agreement was arrived at with regard to the principal question; that Communion under both kinds was not of divine precept, except for the celebrating priest; the

Church had the power, for sufficient reasons, to prescribe Communion under the form of bread alone, for the laity and for the clergy when not celebrating; Christ was entirely present under the one kind; Communion was not necessary for very small children. Very different opinions were elicited with regard to the third of the five articles, which dealt with the granting of the chalice to the laity. It was therefore postponed for the time being, and upon the remaining points four canons were formulated and submitted to the fathers of the Council on July 23rd. They discussed these in six General Congregations from June 30th to July 3rd. Cardinal Simonetta, together with three bishops and the General of the Dominicans, drew up a new statement of the four canons, based on these discussions, with a view to further elucidation and argument. Hosius and Seripando, with three bishops and the General of the Augustinians, drew up a detailed statement of doctrine. All this was laid before the fathers of the Council in General Congregation on July 4th; these deliberated upon it on July 8th and 9th, so that on July 14th the final version could be drawn up.

During these dogmatic discussions, the legates were still engaged with other matters which caused them much anxiety. On June 6th the Imperial envoys had handed to them the so-called reform *libellum* of Ferdinand I. This comprehensive document was the outcome of the discussions of the Imperial councillors upon the articles of reform which had been submitted by the legates to the Council on March nth, and which did not seem to them to be sufficient.

The reform *libellum* of Ferdinand I embraces the Imperial demands and proposals with regard to ecclesiastical reform. It attempts first of all to demonstrate the necessity of a radical reform of the clergy before the decision of controverted points of doctrine. Then follow fifteen articles on the amendment of the clergy in their head and their members. In these there is to be found a vigorous demand for the reform of the Pope and the Curia, the limitation of the members of the College of Cardinals to twenty-four, in the spirit of the decisions of the Council of Basle, the limitation of Papal dispensations and monastic exemptions, the prohibition of benefices, the observance of the duty of residence, the severe punishment of simony, the limitation of ordinances which bind under pain of mortal sin, moderation in the infliction of excommunication, the removal of abuses in the forms of worship, the expurgation from the missal and breviary of useless and legendary matter, and the use of singing in the vernacular in divine worship. To these were added requests for the granting of the chalice to the laity, the abolition of the law of fasting, and for permission for priests to marry. The *libellum* went on to state that, even though all these concessions were not sought by all the nations, it was quite a different matter for the German peoples, whose special infirmities called for special remedies. If the Church, like a good mother, would be indulgent in these points, then most people hoped that at any rate the Catholics who still remained could be preserved from heresy. It was also necessary to draw up a clear summary of Catholic doctrine, as well as a new collection of homilies, and also to establish seminaries for the education and training of a good clergy. After this came the advice that, as far as the Church property which had been seized by the Protestants was concerned, a liberal attitude should be adopted, as it could not be hoped that the apostates would return to union with the Church if restitution of that property was insisted on; dangerous points of controversy should also be avoided as far as possible, as for example that on the duty of residence.



The ecclesiastical policy of Ferdinand had found complete expression in his reform libellum. The good intentions of the Emperor stand out clearly in it, especially his anxiety to put a barrier in the way of the religious innovations, not only by the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, which were so alarmingly on the increase in his dominions, but also by far-reaching concessions. While we may fully appreciate the subjective aims of Ferdinand, the objective value of his proposals for reform must be strictly investigated, and it is very evident that not a few of them were dangerous and went much too far. The practical usefulness of the important concessions demanded with regard to the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests, was by no means proved by the arguments brought forward by the Emperor, but was rather open to very weighty objections.

At their first perusal of the reform libellum there rose in the minds of the legates the remembrance of the Council of Basle, of unhappy memory. In consternation at the extent of the Imperial demands and proposals, they at once, without waiting to consult Rome, begged the representatives of Ferdinand to refrain for the present from bringing the document before the General Congregation. On June 8th they wrote to the nuncio, Delfino, to beg Ferdinand I to withdraw or change the document, as to submit it would certainly entail the dissolution of the Council. As for the claims for the reform of the Pope by the Council, of the head by the members, the nuncio might remind the Emperor of the fatal confusion of the XVth century.<sup>1</sup> One of the Imperial envoys, Archbishop Brus, who returned to Prague from Trent on June 10th, also received instructions from the legates to influence the Emperor in this sense.

The negotiations of Delfino with Ferdinand I had a successful issue. At the end of June the nuncio was able to inform the legates that the Emperor appreciated their objections, and left it to their judgment to submit the libellum, either complete or in part, to the fathers of the Council at a suitable moment. On June 29th the Emperor himself wrote to the legates that he did not wish to dispute their right of bringing forward proposals; if the articles in the libellum were too numerous to be dealt with at one time, he would be satisfied if they were dealt with by degrees. With regard to the reform of the head of the Church, he gave the wholly satisfactory assurance that he had only meant that the Pope should carry this out himself. On June 27th, the Imperial envoys had handed a memorial to the General Congregation of the Council, setting forth the reasons why the chalice for the laity was requested for the Imperial dominions. The Bavarian envoy, Augustinus Paumgartner, was introduced in the same General Congregation. He made a speech in which he put forward three claims in the name of Duke Albert V: the reform of the clergy, the chalice for the laity, and permission for married persons to receive Holy Orders. At the General Congregation of July 4th, the French envoys also submitted a document supporting the demand of the Emperor for the chalice for the laity. It would seem that the very insistence from such various quarters led many, who had before not been unwilling to grant such a concession, to be doubtful. The legates themselves held different views, and sought, by means of negotiations, to have the question set aside. Ferdinand's representatives, however, Thun and Draskovich, obstinately persisted, even with threats, in their demand. They insisted on the postponement of the Session, and the adjournment of the articles prepared for publication, if the question of the chalice for the laity could not be decided at once. The legates, however, insisted that the Session must be held, and the four articles prepared published. At length

the Imperial envoys gave way on condition that a declaration should be made in the Session, that the two articles dealing with the granting of the chalice, which were now postponed, should be dealt with later, at a more suitable time, by the Council, which time was to be when the envoys thought best.

On July 10th they resumed the discussion of the nine reform articles which had been prepared up to May 25th, which during the days that followed were examined anew in four General Congregations, so that on July 15th a reform decree could be formulated.

On the appointed day, July 16th, the XXIst public Session of the Council, the fifth under Pius IV, was held. The Archbishop of Spalato, Marco Cornaro, celebrated High Mass, and the Hungarian bishop, Andreas Sbardelato Dudith, preached. In this Session the five legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, nineteen archbishops, a hundred and forty-eight bishops, four abbots, six generals of orders, seventy-one theologians and ten envoys took part. The decrees concerning Communion under both kinds, and of children, in four articles and as many canons, were published and the announcement was made that the two articles dealing with the chalice for the laity would be treated later on. The reform decree which was then promulgated included nine chapters: it laid down that ordination and dimissorial letters should be granted gratuitously; no one was to be ordained without assured means of support; in very extensive parishes assistant priests were to be appointed, or new parishes formed, though with sufficient endowments, or, when necessary, several small parishes could be united into one; ignorant parish priests were to have vicars assigned to them, to whom part of their revenues must be allotted, and all such as led a scandalous life were to be punished, and if necessary deposed. It was further ordained that the revenues of churches which were in a ruinous state were to be transferred to others, or the said churches put into a proper condition. Monasteries held in commendam, and in which the rules of no Order were observed, as well as all secular and regular benefices, were to be subject to an annual visitation by the bishop, as well as all monasteries where regular observance was still in force, in cases where the superiors were not fulfilling their duty. Finally, in order to abolish once and for all the abuses in connection with the publication of indulgences, it was laid down that, in the first place the name and office of the collector of the indulgence was to be suppressed, and the publication of all indulgences and spiritual favours was to be entrusted to the bishops, who, with two members of the cathedral chapter, should receive the voluntary offerings of the faithful, so that all might know that the treasury of the Church was opened for reasons of piety and not of gain. These reform decrees were accepted by all, with the exception of seven of the bishops, who desired some unimportant alterations. The decree which fixed the next Session for September 17th was received with general approval.

Soon after the fifth Session, an occurrence took place which was of great importance for the further progress of the Council; this was the restoration of unity among the legates. Ever since May, strained relations had existed among them, especially between Cardinals Gonzaga and Simonetta; these had originated in their difference of opinion on the subject of the duty of residence. This question, as well as the disturbing reports of an intended dissolution or adjournment of the Council by the Pope, had caused the legates to send the

Archbishop of Lanciano, Leonardo Marini, to Rome on June 8th, in order to obtain a verbal declaration of the Pope's intentions. Shortly after the departure of Marini, Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, arrived in Trent. The Pope had sent this able Milanese, who was related to, and a friend of Borromeo, in order that he might have a reliable and impartial agent at the Council; he was also to endeavour to bring about the restoration of unity among the legates. Visconti devoted himself to this task with great zeal, and distinguished himself by his calm and tactful behaviour. On June 19th he had a long conversation with Gonzaga, in the course of which the latter spoke of the reports current as to his resignation as inventions. The legate at that time believed that he had dispelled the dissatisfaction of the Pope by the defence which he had made. However, a letter from his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, of June 17th, which the legate, who was then staying at Pergine, received on the 23rd, informed him that Pius IV, once more roused by the complaints of Simonetta, had expressed his intention of replacing the president of the legatine college by another, should he continue to act as he had done hitherto. Gonzaga was deeply humiliated by this, as well as by other matters, and resolved himself to ask for his recall. He immediately sent his intimate friend, Francesco Arrivabene, to Rome for this purpose ; the news caused great excitement and dismay in Trent. In view of the position which Gonzaga held among the fathers of the Council and with the Catholic princes, his withdrawal would have entailed the most disastrous consequences for the progress of the deliberations of the Council.

Pius IV, who was more cautious in deed than he was in his words, refused to accept Gonzaga's resignation, and commanded him to remain, and to continue to hold the presidentship of the legates. The Archbishop of Lanciano who was sent back from Rome to Trent on July 1st, was the bearer of a letter to the Cardinal, in which the Pope's fullest confidence in him was expressed. Simonetta at the same time received instructions to show every consideration to Gonzaga, and keep on the best terms with him. The complete reconciliation between the two legates only took place on July 19th, when Gonzaga was invited by Simonetta to dinner. The long explanations which were made on this occasion resulted in their mutual satisfaction and pleasure. Cardinal Gonzaga displayed real magnanimity, demanding no other punishment for the prelates who had fomented the strife, or who had offended him, than their improvement. When Borromeo wrote to him that the Pope was ready to remove the Bishop of La Cava, who had expressed himself in particularly disrespectful terms, from his position as Commissary of the Council, Gonzaga begged that he might be left at his post, where he was doing most useful work.

No less important for the successful issue of the Council than the reconciliation of the two legates, to which Carlo Visconti had materially contributed, was an intimation which reached Trent on July 18th. This came from Philip II. The courier who brought it had taken only eleven days to make the journey from Madrid to Trent, so as to arrive, if possible, before the Session, and to prevent an unseemly attitude on the part of the Spanish prelates. He delivered to the Marquis of Pescara a letter from the king, of July 6th, instructing him to inform the Spanish prelates that Philip II did not wish any protest to be made in the matter of the duty of residence, and that, in consideration of the opposition of the Emperor and France, he did not insist on an explicit declaration of the continuation of the Council; it would be sufficient if it could be gathered from the

proceedings themselves that this was a continuation of the former Council. This decision on the part of Philip II. caused the greatest satisfaction in Rome, and on August 4th Borromeo gave instructions to Crivelli, the nuncio in Spain, to thank the king in the name of the Pope.

On July 19th the legates submitted to the theologians thirteen articles relating to the holy sacrifice of the Mass. A new regulation, drawn up on the 20th, had for its object to prevent the deliberations from being too protracted. The discussion of the articles relating to the Mass required no less than thirteen meetings, which took place between July 21st and August 4th. On August 6th the legates who were, at that time, highly delighted with the steps taken by Pius IV for the reform of the Curia, laid before the General Congregation the draft of a decree, in four chapters and twelve canons, on the essence, institution and fruits of the holy sacrifice of the Mass. The fathers of the Council discussed this from August 8th to the 27th, the theological question as to whether Christ had already offered Mass at the Last Supper especially giving rise to difficulties.

Ever since August 22nd the thorny question had been waiting for an answer, whether the chalice was to be granted or refused to the laity. Pius IV had left the Council free to make the concession in a letter of July 18th; he thought it wiser, however, to defer the decision until the end of the Council. Borromeo informed the legates on July 29th that the Pope desired that all possible satisfaction should be given to the Emperor in this matter, as far as was consistent with a good conscience and Christian charity. At the same time Gonzaga also received the intimation that Pius IV approved his view that the decree as to the chalice should be formulated by the Council and not by the Pope. The deliberations on this difficult question were taken in hand during the last week of August.

Opinions as to the practical utility of granting the chalice to the laity differed very widely. Besides the impetuous and eloquent Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Cardinal Madruzzo, Bishop Andreas Sbardalato of Knin, and Archbishop Marini of Lanciano were in favour of granting it. Among the opponents of the concession Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and Osio, Bishop of Rieti especially distinguished themselves by the learning and clearness of the arguments they adduced.

It was remarkable that the only German bishop who was present, Leonhard Haller, of Eichstatt, pronounced against the chalice for the laity; his colleague, Rettinger, Bishop of Lavant, had left Trent in order to avoid coming to a decision. All the opponents of the concession, however, insisted on the fact that it was in the power of the Church to allow the reception of Communion under both kinds. When Abbot Riccardo of Vercelli remarked that the request for the chalice had a taint of heresy, the presiding legate reproved him and bade him be silent.

James Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, spoke on September 6th, as the last and most impressive of the speakers. He elucidated the whole question from every point of view, in an objective manner, treating it calmly, clearly, and with scholastic acumen. He expressly pointed out that it was merely a question of the practical appropriateness of the concession, and that neither the judgment of the Council nor the infallibility of the Pope were affected. His own view was that it was not salutary to allow the chalice to the laity, either generally or locally; past

experience had shown this, since, when the Council of Basle and Paul II had allowed it, the apostasy from the Church had not only not been prevented, but even increased. Although the majority of the fathers agreed with Lainez, a middle course was eventually adopted, and the decision of the whole matter was left to the Pope.

When the remodelled decrees concerning the holy sacrifice of the Mass had been once more submitted to further discussion on September 5th and 7th, a reform decree, and another concerning the abuses which had crept into the celebration of Mass, were presented for consideration on September 10th. The discussions on these lasted from September 10th to the 14th. In the General Congregation on September 16th, at which the decrees to be published on the following day were read aloud, very heated discussions took place concerning the institution of the priesthood.

The XXII<sup>nd</sup> Session, the sixth under Pius IV, was held on September 17th. The five legates, Cardinal Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-two archbishops, a hundred and forty-four bishops, one Lateran abbot, seven generals of orders, three doctors of law, thirty theologians, and nine envoys were present. The Archbishop of Otranto, Pietro Antonio di Capua, celebrated High Mass, and the sermon was preached by Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia. The decree on the holy sacrifice of the Mass, in nine chapters and nine canons, the decree concerning the removal of abuses at Mass, the reform decree, in eleven chapters, and finally the above-mentioned decision concerning the chalice for the laity, were published at this Session.

The most important decree was that which, in answer to the numerous errors taught by the innovators, set forth the primitive Catholic doctrine of the Holy Mass. In this the following are laid down: at the Last Supper Jesus Christ bequeathed to his Church a sacrifice, by which the bloody sacrifice of the Cross was to be represented, its memory preserved, and the forgiveness of the sins which are daily committed by men applied. The Lord instituted this sacrifice when He offered His flesh and blood, under the appearances of bread and wine, to God the Father, giving it to the Apostles to eat, and thereby appointing them as His priests, commanding them and their successors to do this in memory of Him. In the sacrifice of the Mass, the same Christ who sacrificed Himself in a bloody manner, is offered up in an unbloody manner. The Mass is consequently a true expiatory sacrifice, by which the faithful gain the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross, the value of which is not thereby prejudiced; Mass is therefore offered, not only for the living, but also for the souls still in Purgatory. When Mass is celebrated by the Church in honour of, and in memory of saints, she teaches that not to these, but to God alone is the sacrifice offered. From time immemorial the Church has ordained the Canon, which contains no error of any kind, for the worthy celebration of the Mass. She has, at the same time, in accordance with apostolic tradition, associated the offering of the sacrifice with ceremonies. It does not seem advisable to the Council that Mass should be universally celebrated in the language of the country. Finally, it repudiates all errors contrary to this teaching, and especially those directed against the sacrificial character of the Mass. The reform decree gives prescriptions for the worthy celebration of Mass, and admonishes the bishops to avoid anything having the appearance of avarice, or what is superstitious, or likely to give scandal.

Full unanimity was only obtained for the decree which fixed the next Session, for the treatment of the sacraments of Holy Orders and Matrimony, for November 12th. Nobody dreamed that instead of the two months proposed, ten would elapse before another Session of the Council could be held.

CHAPTER IX.

The Mission of Morone to Ferdinand I at Innsbruck, 1562-3.

After Pius IV had received the decrees of the sixth Session, he held congregations, at which reforms were discussed, almost every day. The Council, on the other hand, entered upon the difficult discussions concerning the sacrament of Holy Orders. First of all, the legates submitted ten articles to the theologians for consideration on September 18th, 1562; these contained the views of the religious innovators upon the subject; the discussions were to begin on September 23rd. Before that, however, the French and Imperial envoys, in accordance with an agreement brought about by the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, demanded that the further treatment of dogma should be postponed until the arrival of the French prelates, and only matters of reform dealt with in the next Session. This the legates refused, and in the course of a very excited debate, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen and the French envoy demanded that the Imperial reform libellum should be laid before the Council. The legates refused to comply with this request as well. In the meantime, however, they had informed Borromeo, on September 24th, that they were inclined to submit the libellum, with the omission of all articles which encroached upon the authority of the Pope, or which, by their very nature, must be excluded; at the same time they asked for instructions as to how they were to proceed with regard to each separate article. The detailed answer of the Pope on October 3rd, left the legates free to lay the libellum before the fathers of the Council, though this did not mean that they were to put the matter to the vote; at the same time they were to make known the Emperor's letter of June 29th, which left the legates free to select certain articles from the libellum for consideration. Together with these instructions was also sent the Pope's opinion as to each of the articles; this agreed, in all essentials, with the opinion sent to Rome by the legates on August 27th. In spite of the support which he had received from France, Ferdinand I did not continue, at that time, to press for the submission of his libellum, as other matters, and especially the difficulties about the election of his son, Maximilian, as King of the Romans, took up all his attention. It was only after this had been arranged (November 24th) that there came a change.

In the seven articles, which the theologians discussed from September 23rd to October 2nd, the question whether the bishops' duty of residence was a divine or an ecclesiastical precept was not touched upon. However, the subject was soon broached once more by several, and especially by the theologian of the Archbishop of Granada. It came still more into prominence during the proceedings of the General Congregation between October 13th and 20th, which concerned the drafting of the doctrinal decree, and of the seven canons which pronounced an anathema in connection with the sacrament of Holy Orders. At the very beginning of the proceedings, on October 13th, the Archbishop of

Granada made a formal proposal that it should be defined that the episcopal office rested on divine right. The dispute which arose on this point, during which the position of the Pope, with reference to the whole Church, and also with reference to the Council, was debated, drove everything else into the background, and prevented the deliberations from making any progress. Much learning and theological acumen was displayed on both sides during these stormy debates. The General of the Jesuits, James Lainez, who differed from most of his Spanish compatriots on this point, distinguished himself above all the rest. The speech which he made on October 20th, before the taking of the vote, was a masterpiece, distinguished alike by its vast learning, its clearness, and its pertinency. It created an impression such as was scarcely made by any other address during the whole course of the Council. Many, even of his opponents, were convinced by the force of the arguments brought forward by Lainez, while others allowed themselves to be drawn into making violent, and even personal attacks upon him.

In view of the great differences of opinion, it was exceedingly difficult to find any other version of the matter to be brought forward for discussion, especially in the case of the seventh canon, which dealt with the episcopal power. Further discussions followed from November 3rd, to the 6th, during the course of which several Italian bishops, who had their own advantage in view rather than the real interests of the Church, went much too far in their defence of the Papal rights.

Pius IV had in the meantime resolved to cope with one of the things most urgently necessary for the reform of the Church, by a bull concerning the conclave, which was dated October 9th. In sending this to the legates on October 31st, he held out hopes of still further measures for the reform of the Curia. On November 6th, Cardinal Gonzaga submitted the draft of a decree, approved by the Pope, concerning the duty of residence. Three days later, on his proposal, the first postponement of the Session, from November 12th to the 26th, was made, because the material was not ready for publication, and also because the long awaited arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine and other French prelates was expected immediately.<sup>5</sup> In fact, Cardinal Guise arrived on November 13th, and with him thirteen bishops, three abbots, and eighteen theologians, for the most part doctors of the Sorbonne; among the bishops were Nicolas de Pellevé of Sens, Jean Morvillier of Orleans, and Nicolas Pseaume of Verdun; till then there had only been five French bishops at Trent. The newly arrived dignitaries of France were solemnly introduced in the General Congregation of November 23rd. On this occasion Guise made a speech which was universally admired on account of the elegance of its style and the dignity of its delivery. He exhorted the fathers of the Council to refrain from all useless disputes, and to carry out the reform of the Church. The frank recognition of the Pope's supremacy with which he concluded, was calculated to remove the suspicion felt in Rome, on account of the attitude which he had taken up with regard to the rights of the Holy See.

The Cardinal of Lorraine had hoped to be included among the presidents of the Council, but this hope was not fulfilled. However, from the beginning he occupied a far more important position than Cardinal Madruzzo, who also did not belong to the legate college. It is significant of this that in the Papal secretariate the correspondence with him is drawn up in legal style, just as was done when issuing instructions to the legates. All parties at Trent endeavoured to win over



the French Cardinal to their way of thinking, and the latter soon found himself drawn into both open and secret negotiations with men of opposite views. Charles de Guise endeavoured, with the best will and the most persevering courage, above everything else to bring about an agreement of the opposing parties concerning the question of residence, and the much disputed seventh canon. Until the following year the discussions upon the proposals put forward for treatment concentrated more and more, with unending repetitions and often in very heated debates, upon these questions, the defenders of the divine right of the bishops often lading themselves open to the charge of holding very dangerous opinions. For example, Danes, Bishop of Lavaur, in France, maintained that Peter had not been universal bishop of the Church, that the authority of his successors over the bishops was only an accessory, and that the bishops not only held their power by divine right, but also that in their own churches they were equal to the Pope!

It is not to be wondered at that the development of affairs in Trent was watched with increasing anxiety in Rome. The discussions, which were as tedious as they were dangerous, might have been avoided altogether if the fathers of the Council had paid attention to the fundamental distinction which Charles Borromeo had drawn in one short sentence of the letter which he addressed to the legates on October 29th.

The distinction between the power of “order” (consecration) and of jurisdiction, is here clearly pointed out. Bishops have the former in virtue of their consecration, directly from God, and the visible minister of the consecration, be he Pope or bishop, when he confers it, is only acting as an instrument, so that the invisible and immediate giver of the consecration may fulfil His supernatural work. On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the bishops, that is to say their position with regard to their flock, and their authority to rule over them in matters concerning their eternal salvation, although it too is derived from God, is directly communicated to the bishops, according to the teaching of the scholastics, by the Pope alone.

James Lainez, who had maintained this opinion in his first speech on October 20th, in his second address on December 9th, made a proposal that was as practical as it was moderate; this was that the “order” of the bishops should be defined as being of divine right, and that no mention should be made of jurisdiction, since both opinions had many supporters. Attention was diverted from this proposal by two further formulas, which Cardinal Guise, who was working unweariedly for an agreement, put forward, amplifying the seventh canon by an eighth one, concerning the primacy. On the suggestion of Cardinal Simonetta, who was always solicitous for the lights of the Holy See, a commission was appointed to deliberate on this, consisting of four theologians (one of whom was Lainez) and five canonists. Three of the theologians spoke in favour of the proposal, but not so the General of the Jesuits, who remarked that he saw in it a future schism. The five canonists, among whom were two future Popes, Ugo Boncompagni and Giovanni Antonio Facinetti, agreed with Lainez. The legates, whose position was daily becoming more difficult, sent the proposal of Guise, together with the report of the commission, to Rome. Borromeo sent three answers, the first on December 12th, a second, in greater detail, on December 26th, 1562, and finally, a third on January 10th, 1563. These contained among

other things, the instruction that, in order to secure the necessary clearness, the definition of the Council of Florence as to the primacy, should be renewed.

How necessary it was that renewed prominence should be given, just at that time, to the authority of the Holy See, and its inalienable rights, assailed as they were, and not by the Protestants alone, was shown by the discussion which followed, during the course of which the Gallican current in the Council appeared clearly on the surface. The French prelates refused, in the most violent manner, to acknowledge that the bishops held a position dependent on the Pope, nor would they allow it to be stated in the seventh canon that the Pope had the power to govern the Church, as that would prejudice the view which placed the Council above the Pope.

On January 24th, 1563, the French envoys, Lansac and Ferrier, appeared before the legates and protested against the words "the Pope governs the Church." They wished, they expressly stated, to stand up for "their religion," which taught that the Pope is subject to the Council, and in proof of this they appealed to the Council of Constance. The answer of the legates left nothing to be desired in the way of firmness. Cardinal Gonzaga replied that if the envoys thought of defending the opinion they submitted, he and other legates were equally determined to defend the truth, and this truth was that the Pope was above the Council; they were ready to sacrifice their lives before they would allow the supremacy of the Pope to be impugned. Seripando then invalidated their appeal to the Council of Constance by saying that the latter had, for the removal of the schism, claimed superiority only over doubtful Popes, of which at the present time there could be no question. He concluded with the declaration that the legates were fully determined that the supreme authority of the Pope should be defined and published in suitable terms, and in the widest signification of the word.

Cardinal Guise would have been very glad if the dispute concerning the Pope's supremacy could have been avoided. His depression of spirits increased from day to day. On January 18th, 1563, a commission had been appointed under the presidency of himself and Cardinal Madruzzo; it formulated a new decree on the duty of residence, but this was neither approved by the legates, nor placed by them upon the agenda. The Session, which had been first fixed for December 17th, 1562, then for the beginning of January, 1563, and finally for January 15th, had in the meantime been postponed till February 4th. As no agreement could be come to, however, the Session could not be held on that date. Therefore, on February 3rd, Cardinal Gonzaga proposed a further postponement for a longer period, until April 22nd, to put aside, for the time being, the difficult questions of the duty of residence and of Holy Orders, and in the meantime to deal with the sacrament of Matrimony. Discussions were to take place twice every day; in the mornings on Matrimony, by the theologians, and in the afternoons, on the abuses connected with the ordination of priests, by the bishops. Of the 176 fathers of the Council present, only nine voted against this proposal. Accordingly, on the same day, eight articles on the sacrament of Matrimony were submitted to the theologians, as fresh matter for deliberation, and these were discussed from February 9th onwards. On February 12th steps were taken to form a commission of ten prelates, who were to compile a list of the abuses in the ordination of priests.

To all these difficulties a new one was now added by the fact that the French, in conjunction with the Imperialists, endeavoured to force the Pope to accept a reform at the hands of the Council. On January 3rd the French envoys had presented to the General Congregation a reform libellum in thirty-four points. It was expressed, indeed, in terms of moderation, but it contained claims which were either impracticable or dangerous, as for example the one concerning the concession of the chalice to the laity. Lansac then declared that if the Council would not grant these claims, France would introduce them on her own authority. In the General Congregation on February nth, the French envoys, following upon the receipt of a letter from their king, and supported by Guise, again put forward their demands for reform.

These proceedings of the French caused the Emperor, whose activities had hitherto been paralysed by other cares, once more, on the advice of his chancellor, Seld, to intervene in the conciliar discussions. He gave instructions to his envoys at Trent to support the reform proposals of the French, and to insist upon the discussion of the libellum which he had presented in June, 1562. In order to be nearer to the Council, he removed his court to Innsbruck in January, 1563, and, for the purpose of discussing the questions then pending, he summoned thither a meeting of distinguished theologians,<sup>1</sup> which might be looked upon as a kind of Imperial bye-council.

On February 12th, the ambitious Cardinal Guise betook himself from Trent to Innsbruck, where Cardinal Madruzzo and the Count of Luna, the envoy of Philip II, were also expected. Guise, who arrived at Innsbruck on February 16th, immediately expressed himself in the strongest terms against the advisers of the Pope, and declared that a reform by means of the Council was indispensable. In a memorial which he handed to the Emperor, he set forth all the many abuses which he said encroached upon the freedom of the Council, namely, the preponderant influence of the Pope, the domination of the Council by the Italian bishops, who formed a majority, the exclusive right of making proposals by the legates, and the appointment of only one secretary of the Council, whose truthfulness, he averred, was open to grave suspicion. It was therefore desirable that as many bishops as possible should come from Spain, France and Germany, and also that the Emperor should himself go to Trent and be present at the next Session. To the Spanish and French opposition, which had made itself felt at the Council in the discussion of questions of dogma, the time had come to add a coalition of the great Catholic powers, the Emperor, France and Spain, aiming at domination of the Council, and the enforcement of a drastic reform both of head and members. The situation had, without doubt, become extremely critical.

The legates had sent Commendone to Innsbruck to pacify the Emperor as early as the end of January, although it was hardly to be hoped that this mission would meet with any decisive success. Pius IV, who was going on with his work of reform, certainly did not himself expect that he would be able thus to silence the petulant demands of the powers. On the strength of previous experience, he suddenly proposed to try the effect of the intervention of a distinguished ecclesiastical dignitary, who should possess the respect and confidence of the Emperor. On February 10th he urgently begged Cardinal Gonzaga to go as soon as possible to Innsbruck. The president of the legates at Trent seemed, in virtue of his family relationship with Ferdinand, and his tact and skill, admirably suited

to influence the Emperor and to demonstrate to him the readiness of Pius IV to carry out a decisive reform. Gonzaga, however, declined in a letter of February 19th. This refusal was probably to be accounted for by the complete failure of the mission of Commendone, as well as the failing health of the Cardinal himself.

When Guise returned to Trent on February 27th, he found the first president of the Council already very ill. A fever which he had contracted on February 23rd rapidly wasted the strength of the fifty-eight-year-old Cardinal, already worn out by the exertions and anxieties of the Council. On the evening of March 2nd, this distinguished ecclesiastic, who had worn the purple for thirty-six years, and for whom many had prophesied the tiara, breathed forth his noble soul. The last sacraments were administered to him by the General of the Jesuits, who had returned a short time before from Mantua, whither the Cardinal had sent him to found a college of the Society of Jesus.

In the Congregation of March 8th, Seripando, too, was attacked by a dangerous illness, which caused his death on the 17th. The celebrated General of the Augustinians died as piously as he had lived. He insisted on receiving the last sacraments fully dressed and on his knees. As certain views which he had formerly advanced, concerning original sin and justification, had shaken the confidence of many persons in the perfect purity of his faith, the dying man took the occasion to recite one by one, in the presence of the most distinguished theologians, the articles of the Creed, and to swear that he had believed them all without the least doubt.

More than any of the members of the Council to deplore the loss of their colleagues, who had been distinguished by such splendid qualities, were the two surviving legates, Hosius and Simonetta. They felt the responsibility which was now laid upon their shoulders all the more heavily as the differences of opinion regarding the relations between the primacy and the episcopate, and about the duty of residence, continued with undiminished force, while the demands for reform on the part of the French and the Emperor were daily growing more urgent. In addition to all these difficulties there now came the want of money caused by the death of Gonzaga, and the outbreak of bloody combats among the retainers of the French, Spanish and Italian prelates, in consequence of which the holding of Congregations was altogether prevented from March 9th to the 15th.

In the meantime the Emperor, whose theological commission at Innsbruck was engaged upon the drafting of a new, the second, reform iibellum, addressed two letters to the Pope on March 3rd, which caused great anxiety in the Curia. One of these letters, which was also communicated to the imperial envoys at Trent, to the legates, to Cardinal Guise, and to others, demanded reform in general terms. It expressed the regret of the Emperor at the unsatisfactory course of events at the Council, and at the reports which were current that the Pope intended either to suspend or dissolve it, which would cause great harm to the Church. He hoped that the Council might soon be brought to a successful close, and the longed-for reform carried into effect. For this, however, full liberty was necessary, and therefore the right of proposition must not be reserved to the legates alone, but must also be granted to the envoys of the princes. Finally, the Emperor announced his inclination to appear at the Council himself, and addressed an urgent request to the Pope to do likewise. The second, confidential,

letter, contained the same exhortations and demands, but was expressed in a less severe form. In this the Emperor especially demanded that for the future simony, and all other unworthy influence should be excluded from the Papal election, that no Cardinal should be appointed who, on account of his youth or want of learning, was unfit to hold the position, and finally that the existing abuses in the election of archbishops and bishops by the cathedral chapters should be abolished.

Towards the end of 1562, Pius IV would have been very willing to suspend the Council, on the proposal of the Emperor; on November 14th, 1562, as Borromeo had written to Delfino, the Pope expected such a proposal from Ferdinand I. Pius IV did not wish to take the initiative himself, and at the end of November he declined Delfino's plan of writing to Philip II to close the Council. On December 20th Borromeo wrote to Delfino that if a proposal for suspension were not made by the Imperial Court, the Council would continue its sessions, for the Pope would not come forward with such a proposal himself. As time went on however, Pius IV became more and more convinced of the grave objections which stood in the way of a suspension or a premature closing of the Council. On the other hand it became equally clear to him that the useful progress and the successful issue to the work of the Council depended upon an understanding with the secular princes, and especially with the Emperor. He called upon the latter, in a brief of March 6th, 1563, to undertake the defence of the Apostolic See against all attacks in the Council, and to instruct his envoys to act in union with the legates. The brief, at the same time, laid stress on the sincere wish and the zealous endeavours of the Pope to do away with all abuses, and to introduce a strict reform.

On March 18th two briefs were drawn up in answer to the Imperial letters of March 3rd. In the first, the Pope praised the Emperor's zeal, and regretted with him the slow progress of the Council, and the want of unity there; in answer to the rumours of suspension or dissolution, he declared his fixed intention of continuing the Council, and of bringing it to a happy conclusion. He then spoke of what he had already done in the way of reform, and finally explained his reasons for not going in person to Trent. A confidential letter was also drawn up in answer to the confidential letter of Ferdinand I. In this the Pope said that the Emperor was perfectly right in maintaining that it was of the utmost importance for Christendom that the Papal election should be lawful and beyond reproach. So many good and wise laws had already been issued on this matter by former Councils and Popes, that it had been believed that nothing more could be added. In order, however, completely to remove every abuse, the Pope had published a new law. He had not communicated it to the Council before its publication, much as he would have liked to do so, because he had realized, since the recent disputes, how difficult it was, in such an important and controverted manner, to succeed in accomplishing anything. Should the Council, however, of its own accord, approve the law which he had issued, it would be very pleasing to him. With regard to the nomination of Cardinals, he referred to the statements which would be made by Cardinal Morone, who had been decided upon as legate at the Imperial court.

The despatch of these briefs, however, did not take place, because it was decided that all the matters touched upon in the Imperial letters of March 3rd should be answered verbally by Morone. His mission was announced to the

Emperor by the legate in a detailed brief on March 19th. The other very important task with which Morone had already been entrusted, his appointment as legate to the Council, was also spoken of in this brief.

When the news of Gonzaga's death reached Rome on March 6th, Pius IV at once saw that he must provide a successor for the dead president without delay. On the very next morning, without consulting the Sacred College, he appointed Morone and Navagero as legates to the Council. By this act, so quickly carried out, Pius IV again displayed his great political shrewdness. Other proposals were made, especially the candidature of the ambitious Cardinal Guise, which was at once put forward. Although he had kept his intention secret, Cardinal Bourdaisière had succeeded in gaining admission to the Pope before the consistory of March 7th, to represent to him the necessity of appointing Guise. Pius IV answered him shortly and decidedly that as the Cardinal of Lorraine was looked upon as the head of a party in the Council, it was impossible to consider it advisable to make him a president, since not the least suspicion of partiality must attach to the holder of such a dignity.

Pius IV had shown great wisdom in his choice of the new legates to the Council. Of the three who were still at Trent, two, Hosius and Seripando, were theologians, while Simonetta was a canonist. As the necessity of a good understanding with the great powers, for the progress and conclusion of the Council, had been growing more and more evident since the arrival of the French, there was urgent need of skilled diplomatists. From this point of view, among all the Cardinals, Morone and Navagero seemed the most suitable. Navagero had had a splendid career as Venetian ambassador, while Morone was certainly the most able diplomatist who was at that time at the disposal of the Holy See. In addition to this, Morone had been for many years, and in quite a special way, entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs, for which reason Paul III had destined him for the office of legate at the first announcement of the Council of Trent. He had enjoyed the friendship of Pius IV for many years, and possessed his confidence in the highest degree. Morone was also, with the exception of Borromeo, more closely acquainted with the progress of the Council up till now than any other member of the Sacred College, and in addition to all this he possessed, in a high degree, the respect and confidence of the Emperor.

On March 24th, 1563, Morone left the Eternal City, and on April 10th, the vigil of Easter, he arrived in Trent. At that time the work of the Council was almost at a standstill. The joy that was felt at the arrival of the new legate was increased when the new envoy of the King of Spain, the Count di Luna, appointed to succeed Pescara, arrived quite unexpectedly on April 12th.

The importance and ability of Morone at once became apparent in the negotiations upon which he entered with the envoys of the powers who were at Trent, and with Guise and other distinguished persons, scarcely any of whom believed in the Pope's real desire for reform. These negotiations, however, could only be provisional, as everything depended on the attitude of the Emperor. After Morone had entered upon his new office at the General Congregation of April 13th, he set out at once for the Imperial court on April 16th. After a journey which was rendered very difficult by the cold and rainy weather, he reached Innsbruck on April 21st. The Emperor had been awaiting his arrival with impatience; he

went to meet the Pope's representative some distance beyond the gates of the city, and accompanied him in his entry.

Negotiations were commenced on the following day. In a conversation which lasted for four hours, Morone gave to the Emperor answers on all the points contained in his two letters of March 3rd. The slow progress of affairs at the Council was discussed in detail, as were the true causes of the evil and the means of obviating it, together with the question of the suspension, the liberty of the Council and the asking for instructions from Rome, the right of proposition by the legates, the reform of the head of the Church, the Papal election, the nomination of Cardinals, the election of bishops and their duty of residence, the reasons why the Pope could not go to Trent, and the invitation sent to Ferdinand I to receive the Imperial crown at Bologna. On all these points Morone kept to the statements made in the briefs of March 18th, which had not been sent; he endeavoured, with great skill, and to the best of his ability, to justify them, but, as he reported to Rome on April 23rd, he met with serious difficulties on several important points. The Emperor entertained, as the legate clearly saw, the best intentions towards the Church and the Pope, but the situation was made difficult by the previous agreement which he had made with France and Spain. Ferdinand especially insisted on the right of proposition for the envoys, on the limitation of Roman dispensations, and on the reform of the composition of the German cathedral chapters. He did not absolutely refuse to make the journey to Bologna for his coronation, which the Pope desired, while Morone's declaration of the burning zeal of Pius IV for reform, made a visible impression on him. The two guiding principles which the distinguished legate kept before him were to make every possible concession to the Emperor, and at the same time to adhere firmly to the inalienable rights of the Holy See.

Morone wished to treat with the Emperor by word of mouth alone, and in secret, without witnesses or intermediaries. This easily understood wish, however, could not be strictly adhered to. Ferdinand dictated what he could remember of the declaration made by Morone to the chancellor, Seld, and then gave these notes to his theologians to be discussed. Morone rightly considered it his principal duty to get on good terms with the various members of this commission. It was above all a question of working against a man whose extreme views had already repeatedly proved harmful to the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy. This adviser of Ferdinand was not a German, but the Spanish Minorite, Francisco de Cordova. The activities of this zealous champion of the ideas of Constance and Basle caused Morone no little anxiety. He, therefore, interested himself strongly in confirming other members of the commission, such as Matthias Sittard and Conrad Braun, in their good dispositions, and in gaining their good-will by gifts of money. This was not necessary in the case of Canisius, who was so loyal to the Holy See, but he also received 100 gold scudi, as an alms for the Society of Jesus. The lay advisers of the Emperor were also remembered by the legate with gifts of money and valuables, a custom which was frequently followed in diplomatic negotiations at that time.

The former excellent relations existing between Morone and the Emperor now stood him in good stead. The negotiations were also facilitated by the Emperor's wish that the election of his son Maximilian as King of the Romans should be confirmed by the Pope as well as by the genuine Catholic sentiments of

this Hapsburg prince, who was always well-intentioned, although not always far-seeing.

There still remained, however, many difficulties to be surmounted. Morone found the opinion prevalent at the court that there was in Rome a spirit of opposition to all reforms. Not only the Emperor's advisers, but Ferdinand himself, could not be dissuaded from the view that difficulties would be put in the way of the decrees of the Council in the Curia, by granting dispensations. It also caused considerable delay when the legate, soon after his arrival, fell ill with gout and fever, and was confined to his bed. The Emperor paid him the great honour of a visit, during the course of which he remarked that he wished to uphold the authority of the Pope, but also that of the Council. Morone replied by explaining the necessity of close co-operation between the Pope and the Council, quoting a remark of Cardinal Contarini, who was greatly esteemed by the Emperor, to the effect that it is the Pope who gives authority and power to the Council, but that the Council must also have great respect for the power of the successor of St. Peter. Morone also enlarged upon the blessing which united action on the part of the Pope and the Emperor would bring, not only on the work of reform, but also on the elucidation of other questions. The election of Maximilian as King, which was of great importance to the Emperor, was also touched upon.

Ferdinand I had promised to arrive at a speedy settlement of the negotiations. As he was still confined to his bed during the days that followed, Morone sent Delfino to the Emperor on May 3rd, to beg him to come to an early decision, without any exchange of letters; in this, however, he was not successful. Morone in the meantime sought to convince the chamberlain, Count Arco, and the Imperial theologians, who appeared at his bedside, of the genuineness of the Pope's intentions of reform, and to explain to them how impracticable were the demands of Ferdinand I in the matters of the right of proposition, the reform of the head of the Church, and the representation of all the nations at Trent. He encountered so much opposition, especially with regard to the first point, that on May 6th he asked for instructions from Rome regarding the right of proposition, as to which the Pope had been prepared to give way at the time of his departure.

While Morone was successfully endeavouring, from his sick bed, to prevent the Imperial theologians from the treatment of new and dangerous questions, as for example, that of the supremacy of the Council, his attempt to deal with the Emperor by word of mouth alone failed.

On May 7th, the Emperor again honoured the legate with a personal visit. He handed him, as the result of the deliberations of his theologians, a written answer to the discourse which Morone had delivered after his arrival, together with a supplement on the reform and election of the bishops. Contrary to all expectations, the Emperor's reply was favourable; Morone, nevertheless, found in it three points to contest, which had from the first appeared to him to be most important: the right of proposition by the civil powers, the formation of national deputations for the preliminary discussion of con-ciliar questions, and, above all, the reform of the head of the Church by the Council. He laid his counter-observations, especially on the last point, before the Emperor, at an audience, which lasted three hours, granted to him on May 8th. He had brought notes with him, which formed the basis of his speech. The Emperor begged him to leave



these notes with him, and as Morone could not very well refuse this request, he was thereby forced into negotiations which were partly in writing. Ferdinand handed Morone's reply to his theological commission, and received from it a counter-reply. This latter did not seem quite satisfactory to Morone, although it was very favourably expressed in several important points. Only a limited right of proposition was now demanded, and the expression "reform of the head" was replaced by the words "reform of the universal Church, as it is called in the ancient Councils" a change which excluded the principles of the Councils of Constance and Basle. Other points were also modified, but the demand for the national deputations, and for a reform of the Papal elections by the Council were still maintained.

The Imperial reply was presented to Morone on May 12th. He had scarcely read it when Ferdinand appeared for a farewell visit, and the two now conferred for two hours longer. The Emperor displayed great reverence for the Holy See, and for the person of the Pope, but in spite of this Morone did not succeed in obtaining all he desired. A full agreement, which was committed to writing, was reached on the following points: the remaining dogmatic questions, especially those which had not been attacked by the innovators, were to be left aside ; the fathers of the Council, as well as the envoys of the Emperor at Trent, were to be perfectly free to maintain their opinions, but they would be forbidden to digress from the subjects proposed for discussion, or to offend in their speeches against the rules of courtesy, or to display a want of consideration. The Pope was to leave to the Council full liberty to pass resolutions. In addition to the completion of the reforms already taken in hand, the Council should especially deal with the irregular election of bishops, and the exemptions of the cathedral chapters. Bishops were to be forced to fulfil the duty of residence, and the dispute as to divine right was to be settled in a peaceful manner. The appointment of a second secretary of the Council, who, however, was to be chosen by the Pope and the legates, was stated to be desirable. Ferdinand I promised, as it was at present impossible for him to undertake the journey to Bologna for the coronation, to follow this ancient and praiseworthy custom of his predecessors as soon as time and circumstances should permit. Besides all this, they arranged, verbally, that in the event of a vacancy occurring in the Holy See during the time of the Council, the Emperor should use all his influence that their ancient right of choosing a new Pope should remain with the College of Cardinals.

No agreement was arrived at concerning the national deputations, the right of proposition, or the conclave bull. Morone, therefore, caused the two principal advisers of the Emperor, Seld and Singmoser, to be summoned to him before his departure on May 12th, and explained to them his point of view with regard to these matters, and begged them to submit it to his majesty. Not content with this, he also drew up a memorial, which he caused to be delivered to the Emperor by Delfino on the same day. The answer was to be sent by Delfino to Matrei, the first posting station on the Brenner Pass, by which Morone was to travel on that day. It was prepared on the 13th, and was at once sent on to Morone; Delfino was able, in doing so, to inform him that Seld had stated that the Emperor would not insist on the three points mentioned. Morone found the Emperor's statements satisfactory. The demand for the national deputations, which now only appeared as a counsel, did not seem to him to be dangerous; he considered it, on the contrary, even advantageous, in so far as it was calculated to promote the

acceptance of the decrees of the Council by all the nations. The fact that the Emperor expressly declared that the subjects proposed for discussion should only be prepared by these deputations, and then laid by them before the assembled fathers, to be decided by them by the majority of votes, could not but allay Morone's fears. With regard to the right of proposition of the legates, he was also relieved to see that the Emperor did not adhere to his demands. He looked upon the Emperor's proviso that, in the event of a refusal by the legates, the envoys could also make proposals, as being reasonable and just, and therefore believed that it would not be displeasing to the Pope either. With regard to the conclave bull, the answer of the Emperor was to the effect that for the time being he asked nothing further than that it should be carried out in the most exact and secure way, and that the secular ambassadors, as well as the electors in the conclave and the whole Roman populace, should be deterred from interference by the infliction of severe penalties; it would be best that these last should be settled by the Council. This extension of the conclave bull, Morone rightly did not consider in any way disadvantageous to the Pope; on the contrary, he thought that it would render the intrigues of the secular princes more difficult of execution. He therefore answered the Emperor without any hesitation, thanked him for the contents of the letter he had just received, and, in view of the goodwill shown by his majesty, expressed great hopes for the favourable progress of public affairs.

In the final report which he sent to Rome, which in its simplicity, pertinency, and absence of vainglory, is a masterpiece, Morone did not conceal his satisfaction that he had succeeded in blunting the dangerous aims of the by-council at Innsbruck, and in convincing the Emperor of the sincere goodwill and the honourable intentions of the Pope. If he was not perfectly satisfied with the result of his mission, he could at any rate claim that what he had obtained was of no small importance, an opinion which was also shared by people of discernment. Canisius considered as the most important point of all that Morone had obtained, the fact that the passage on the "reform of the Church in its head and its members" had been deleted. In Rome they were highly pleased with the work of the legate. "The Pope," writes Borromeo on May 19th to Morone, "has carefully read and considered your report of the 13th, and I can assure you that, during the whole of his reign, none of his diplomatists has given him greater satisfaction. The more difficult and critical the negotiations were, the greater are the merit and praise due to you." Borromeo wrote again in a similar appreciative way on May 27th. The satisfaction of the Pope was all the greater as he had been prepared, in the last extremity, and in view of the coalition of the great Catholic powers, to grant the right of proposition to the envoys, and to allow the reform of the head of the Church to be discussed by the Council.

In forming an opinion on what had been accomplished by Morone the judgment of the opponents of Rome is not without importance. King Maximilian, to whom all the documents relating to the Innsbruck conferences were communicated, learned the result with much disgust. On May 24th he reproached his father with having given way too far; now that it was done, he said, it would be well that the Emperor should return to Vienna, and trouble himself no further about the Council. The Cardinal of Lorraine, too, who was at that time in strong opposition to Rome, expressed his dissatisfaction at the Emperor's compliance, especially in the matter of the right of proposition.

In whatever way the results of the Innsbruck conferences may be judged, it is beyond doubt that the great diplomatic skill of Morone had brought about an understanding between the Emperor and the Pope. His ability and prudence were also brilliantly displayed at Trent, to which city he returned on May 17th. Morone was just the man to take up the direction of affairs with a firm and safe hand, and to overcome all the difficulties which still stood in the way of bringing the Council to a successful conclusion.

CHAPTER X.

The Concluding Sessions of the Council of Trent.

While Morone, as legate, and as the confidant of Pius IV, was paving the way for an understanding with the Emperor at Innsbruck, relations between the Spanish king and the Pope were also taking a more favourable turn. Philip's representative in Rome since 1559, Francisco de Vargas, had been in no small degree to blame for the irritation and disputes between Rome and Madrid. Vargas was not a man who could smooth difficulties away; he was much more likely to render existing friction more acute. Over-zealous and violent, quarrelsome and contentious, he was the most unlikely person to obtain anything from Pius IV. In just the same degree as the relations between the Venetian ambassador, Mula, and the Pope were excellent, so did those between Pius IV and Vargas go from bad to worse. Philip II himself could not fail to recognize that Vargas' position at the Curia had become unbearable, and his successor, Luis de Requesens, had been appointed as early as the beginning of 1562, although his departure had been delayed from month to month.

In August, 1562, Philip II had formed the idea of sending to Rome a special confidential envoy, in order to settle the differences which existed in the matter of the Council. He chose for the purpose the aged and experienced Luis de Avila, but put off sending him until the beginning of December, as he wished, before doing so, to come to an agreement with the other Catholic powers with regard to his further procedure at Trent.

The longer the mission of Avila, from which a favourable turn in the matter of the Council was hoped for in Rome, was delayed, the greater was the impatience with which the arrival of Philip's representative was awaited. In the middle of February, 1563, his appearance was thought to be imminent, but a full month had to elapse before Avila made his entry into Rome on March 14th, 1563. It was in keeping with the honourable reception accorded to him that he was assigned lodgings in the Vatican, in the apartments of Federigo Borromeo. Negotiations were begun two days later, and if they were at first of a somewhat excited character, this was to be explained by the disappointment which Pius IV experienced when Avila presented the numerous and important demands of his sovereign. In order to understand the attitude of the Pope, one must realize the dangers which confronted him on all sides. At Trent, where the proceedings were at a standstill, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, who was in high favour with the Emperor, was declaring quite openly that the power of the Pope was no greater than that of any other patriarch, and the Archbishop of Granada expressed himself in similar terms. At Innsbruck the Imperial commission of theologians

was holding its sessions, and was very similar to a Council; no one could foretell what success the impending mission of Morone to the court of Ferdinand I was likely to have. In France, the most important champions of the Catholic Church, Marshal St. Andre, and Francois de Guise, had fallen, while Montmorency was a prisoner. It was only too well known to Pius IV that the government of Catherine de' Medici considered that, faced as they were by the Huguenots, the only way to safety lay in compliance. The queen had, in fact, granted to them on March 12th, at the Peace of Amboise, religious liberty, even though it was to some extent limited, accepting at the same time the monstrous proposal that a new Council should be summoned in Germany or France, and renewed attempts made to attract the Protestants to it.

Under these circumstances, Pius IV was forced to enter into still closer relations with the only Catholic power which would not listen to any talk of yielding to the religious innovators; the more hesitating the attitude of the Emperor, and the greater the tension in France, the more the Pope had to rely on Philip II. In order to obtain effective assistance from him, the Pope at last came to the momentous resolve, not only of giving way with regard to the exclusive right of proposition by the legates, but also of deciding the dispute about precedence between the Spanish and French envoys at Trent, in the manner desired in Madrid. An agreement was reached in the first week of May, and two documents, mutually binding, were exchanged. In that of May 6th Avila and Vargas, as the representatives of Philip II, gave a solemn promise that their sovereign would defend the authority of the Pope with all his power. Pius IV thereupon wrote on May 8th to the legates at Trent that they were to explain to the fathers that the liberty of the Council was not to be affected by the words *proponentibus legatis*, which had been entered in the decree without his previous knowledge. On the same day the Pope, without wishing definitely to decide the dispute as to precedence in the matter of the place to be assigned to the representatives of Spain at the sessions and congregations, gave way to the wishes of Philip II, who had based his threat, made on March 5th, of breaking off diplomatic relations, on the luke-warm attitude taken up in Rome on this question.

Morone, who had successfully defended the exclusive right of proposition by the legates against the Emperor at Innsbruck, was as much embarrassed as dismayed at the compliance shown by Pius IV to Philip II in this respect. The new Spanish envoy, Count di Luna, who had arrived in the place of Pescara, naturally insisted on the fulfilment of the concessions granted to his sovereign, and all the efforts of Morone to induce him to change his mind were in vain. The other legates supported Morone, and in a letter to Borromeo on June 19th, 1563, they protested against the limitation of their exclusive right of proposition, expressing the wish to be recalled from the Council, rather than remain as witnesses of their own discomfiture.

Even before this painful incident, there had been no lack of other occurrences which caused Morone and his colleagues grave anxiety, and placed them in no small embarrassment. Not the least of these was the ever smouldering dispute about precedence between the French and Spanish envoys, in which the question was always coming more and more into the foreground of what place was to be assigned to the representative of the Catholic King in ecclesiastical

functions, and how the kiss of peace and the incensation were to be carried out. In this matter Pius IV came to the conclusion, on June 8th, that it was his duty to decide in favour of Spain, and he expressly gave as his reason that Philip II must at that time be looked upon as the principal support of the Catholic religion.

Above all, however, the legates were preoccupied with the question concerning the episcopate and the primacy, which had recently once again broken out into flame. Even the preliminary discussions concerning the abuses connected with Holy Orders, which lasted from May 12th to June 16th, as well as the later ones on the ordination of priests, which began on June nth, made it clear that an agreement on these questions was hardly to be expected. While the Archbishop of Granada was for ever proclaiming the divine right of the bishops, others, especially the French bishops, were indulging in the most violent censures of the real and sup-posed abuses in the Curia. The Bishop of Paris, who wished to see the discussions on the reform of the Curia put in the first place, recommended the restoration of the ancient mode of electing bishops, according to which the Pope would have to renounce his right of nomination. According to the wishes of many, the right of dispensation must also be withdrawn from the head of the Church, and the election of the Pope regulated by the Council.

In the final assembly, on June 16th, Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, maintained with the greatest firmness that the Pope, as head of the Church, could not be reformed by the Council. Reform, he declared, is a return to old ways; there is an interior reform as well as an exterior one, and the latter must be subsidiary to the former; all reform must presuppose the immutability of the divine law. Not everything, however, is divine law which the fathers of the Council honour with this title. Lainez then proceeded to demonstrate once more the fundamental difference between order and jurisdiction. To have a vote in the Council is a matter of jurisdiction; the possession of a diocese is not essential to the episcopal dignity. The assertion that titular bishops are not real bishops is false; in Germany such bishops are indispensable on account of the extent of the dioceses. Dispensations cannot be avoided, and Lainez was most emphatic in his declaration that the Pope has his right of dispensation direct from Christ; no one can deprive him of it or limit it. He answered the argument that the Pope might sometimes use this right badly, by saying that the same thing could be said of every prince and every superior. Finally, he strongly insisted that the reform of the Roman Curia could be carried out in the best and most effective manner by the Pope himself, opposing most resolutely those who maintained the superiority of the Council over the Pope.

It is not to be wondered at that such outspoken and determined language failed to appeal to many of his hearers, especially the French bishops, imbued as they were with Gallican views. In their reports to Rome, the legates bestowed great praise on the General of the Jesuits, expressing, however, a desire for greater reserve and prudence.

Lainez also energetically defended the rights of the Holy See at the renewed discussions in July on the sacrament of Holy Orders. This was all the more necessary, as the French bishops made violent protests against every expression which suggested the superiority of the Pope over the Council, or acceptance of the Council of Florence and repudiation of that of Basle. The ultimate aim of the

French was to undermine the monarchical character of the organization of the Church, in the sense of the Council of Basle. The Spanish bishops, indeed, acknowledged the Council of Florence, but remained firm on the point that the institution and jurisdiction of the episcopate was of divine right, and must therefore be declared to be so. On account of the extent of their dioceses, and the richness of their benefices, they hoped everything from the strengthening of the episcopal power, and would have liked to become popes in their own dioceses; they also endeavoured to weaken the authority of the Cardinals in every possible way. The Italians, and with them a few Spanish and French bishops, as well as the very small number of bishops of other nations who were present, declared themselves, almost without exception, on the side of the power and dignity of the Holy See.

In all these controversies, which were conducted with the greatest violence, secular interests also played a part; the Imperial envoys, however, in accordance with the agreement reached by Morone, worked for the elimination of theoretical questions, as to which there was no possibility of agreement. The view of Pius IV was that it was preferable to come to no decision with regard to the question of jurisdiction, and that of the universal primacy, than to adopt a half decision, which would give occasion for disputes later on. The legates had already written to Rome in April that there was no other way than to avoid the contested points altogether, and in the doctrinal chapter and canons to speak only of the power of order, without mentioning jurisdiction. Lainez had already proposed this solution on a former occasion, and an agreement on those lines was actually reached at the beginning of July. A satisfactory form of the decree on residence was also arrived at on July 7th, which, in all essentials, was in accordance with that which had formerly been drafted by Cardinal Gonzaga; no mention was made in this of divine right. On July 9th a General Congregation was held, in which they were successful in obtaining 227 votes for the decrees thus formulated. Only slight alterations were asked for, with the insertion of which Archbishop Marini, of Lanciano, and Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, as theologians, and Archbishop Castagna, of Rossano, and Gabriele Paleotto, Auditor of the Rota, as canonists, were entrusted. This happy result, in consequence of which the XXIIIrd Session, which had been repeatedly postponed, first from April 22nd to May 20th, then to June 15th, and finally to July 15th, could at last be held, was above all to be attributed to the complete change of front on the part of Cardinal Guise, the leader of the French bishops.

As early as June 29th, while the scandalous dispute about precedence between the French and Spanish envoys was taking place in the Cathedral of Trent, the passionate French-man, deeply offended at the preference shown to Spain, had permitted himself to the use of the most violent expressions concerning Pius IV, the lawfulness of whose election he declared to be doubtful, on account of alleged simony, and he had threatened to make an appeal to the Council. A few days later he offered the Pope his services, through his secretary, Musotti. Sudden changes from one extreme to the other are natural to the French character. In this change on the part of Cardinal Guise from strong opposition to becoming the supporter of the Pope, personal reasons had contributed no less than objective ones. Pius IV had previously made him the offer of appointing him perpetual legate in France after the close of the Council and of entrusting him with full powers, as, for example, the granting of the chalice to the laity, things

which to an ambitious man, where very tempting. While on the one hand, the prospect of a great and honourable activity in his own country attracted the Cardinal, on the other hand he shrank from plunging his beloved France, already so sorely tried, into the confusion of a schism.<sup>1</sup> His startling change of front was at the same time made easier for him by the amicable settlement arrived at with the Spanish envoy, which was acceptable to the French court.

In the General Congregation of July 14th an agreement had been come to by almost all the fathers with regard to the whole of the decrees. Only the Spanish bishops, with the exception of the Bishop of Lerida, were still opposed to the wording of the sixth canon, but this difficulty was overcome by the skilful intervention of Morone. The legate appealed to Count di Lima, who succeeded in overcoming the opposition of his countrymen, and the same night communicated the fact to Morone.

On the morning of July 15th, the four legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and ninety-three bishops, three abbots, seven generals of orders, three doctors of law, a hundred and thirty theologians, six procurators of bishops who were absent, and twelve envoys, assembled in the Cathedral of Trent for the XXIIIrd Session, the seventh under Pius IV.

High Mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Paris, Eustache du Bellay, and the sermon was preached by the Spaniard, Giacomo Giberto di Noguera, Bishop of Alife. Then the decree on Holy Orders, in four chapters and eight canons, was read aloud. Of the bishops it was stated in the fourth chapter: "In addition to the other grades, there belong in a special way to this hierarchical order the bishops, who have succeeded to the place of the Apostles, and, as the Apostle says, have been set by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God." Although this formula did not directly define divine right, the Spanish bishops had at last declared it to be satisfactory, because it could be interpreted in their sense.

The last three canons, so long disputed, were as follows: "Anathema is pronounced against anyone who maintains that in the Catholic Church there is no hierarchy, appointed by divine ordinance, and consisting of bishops, priests and ministers; that bishops are no more than priests, and have not the power to confirm and ordain, or that they have their power in common with priests, or that the ordination conferred by them without the consent of, or without the call of the people or the civil authorities, is invalid, or that those who are not properly ordained and appointed by ecclesiastical and canonical authority, but come from elsewhere, are legitimate ministers of the divine word and of the sacraments; that the bishops who are chosen by the Roman Pope are not true and lawful bishops, but a human institution."

The first president, Morone, was able to announce, as the result of the voting, that all the fathers approved the decrees, that six wished for a better and clearer declaration in the sixth and eighth canons, and one in the fourth. Then the reform decree, which included eighteen chapters, the first of which was concerned with the duty of residence, was publicly read. The second chapter laid it down that all prelates without exception, even the Cardinals, must receive Holy Orders within three months. The next fourteen chapters contained precise



regulations for the conferring and reception of the various orders, as well as to the qualities necessary for those who were to be ordained. The rules in the last chapter, the eighteenth, as to the training and education of future priests, were of great importance. All the bishops, it laid down, were to found institutions, seminaries in which boys could be trained for the priesthood from twelve years of age and upwards. This enactment, by which the theological faculties were by no means abolished, aimed at affording the opportunity of theological study, together with protection from moral dangers, to all youths, especially such as were without means.

Divine right was again not mentioned in the decree as to residence; several of the fathers, nevertheless, were of opinion that certain words in it might be interpreted in that sense. The number of those who objected, however, to this hotly debated decree, or who accepted it only conditionally, or objected to certain passages, was only eleven. The Bishop of Feltre, Francesco Campegio, protested against the decree, though he declared his readiness to submit to the decision of the Pope; all the other fathers gave their approval. The other reform decrees were accepted by a simple placet, with the exception of six votes. Finally, unanimous approval was given to the decree read at the close, appointing September 16th for the next Session, when the sacrament of Matrimony, and other doctrinal points which had not yet been decided, the provision of bishoprics, and other reforms, would be dealt with.

This happy ending of the seventh Session filled the Pope and the legates with the greatest joy, and confirmed them in their intention of completing as quickly as possible the remaining tasks of the Council. The policy of Philip II, however, put serious obstacles in their way. It soon became apparent that in Spain they were working for the prolongation of the Council, and the proposal of Count di Lima once more to invite the Protestants had no other object in view.

The consideration that the Council afforded him an excellent means of bringing pressure to bear on Pius IV, and of forcing him to concessions in other matters, was certainly the principal reason for Philip's conduct. The Pope understood this very well, but his superior statesmanship nevertheless enabled him to frustrate the aims of the Spanish king. While always strengthening the understanding with Cardinal Guise, which was of so great importance as far as his countrymen was concerned, Pius IV understood in a masterly way how to complete the work begun by Morone, and to win over the Emperor to the conclusion of the Council. As an effective lever for this purpose he made skilful use of the recognition of Maximilian's election as king, and Morone stood loyally by the side of Pius IV in all his efforts. As early as July 20th, the legate wrote to Ferdinand I, representing to him that a further prolongation of the proceedings of the Council could only be harmful to the Church, and begging him to agree to its conclusion, and to induce Philip II to withdraw his opposition.

At Trent, on July 20th, the legates laid before the fathers of the Council eleven canons on the sacrament of Matrimony, and a decree which declared clandestine marriages invalid, as well as those contracted by minors without the consent of their parents. A considerable number of the fathers, among them the legate Hosius himself, were opposed to any change with regard to clandestine

marriages, and on this and cognate questions there arose long and difficult discussions, which lasted far into the autumn.

Important deliberations on general reform were being carried on at the same time; in this connection, Pius IV expressly declared that the Cardinals must also be reformed by the Council, nor were the laity to be excepted from the general reform, a point of view which had long been maintained by persons of discernment. The nuncio Commendone, long before the reopening of the Council, and as the result of his observations in Germany, had drawn attention to the numerous usurpations of ecclesiastical goods and rights on the part of the civil authorities, which gravely violated canon law, and infringed on the liberties of the Church, adding a demand that, to the reform of the Curia, must be joined that of the princes and their governments.

The remarks of Commendone on the oppression of the Church in Germany, even by Catholic princes, were fully justified. The German princes had been working successfully since the XIVth century to bring at least the whole of the "external affairs of the Church" into subjection to their authority, to obtain free disposal of ecclesiastical property, to fill all the lucrative ecclesiastical offices, and to exercise control over all ecclesiastical ordinances. In the confusion and distress of the XVth and XVIth centuries not a few Popes had made far-reaching concessions in this respect, and had permitted various princes to share in the regulation of purely ecclesiastical matters. These concessions, which could only be excused by the miseries of the times, soon came to be looked upon as a permanent right by the sovereigns, who, "where there was no question of faith involved," intended to govern "freely in the affairs of the ministers of the Church and their possessions." In open contradiction to the principles of canon law, according to which the Church possesses the property, and her various members are only granted its use, the officials of the princes and the nobility in Austria as in Bavaria disposed of ecclesiastical goods and foundations as they pleased. It was hardly an exaggeration when Cardinal Truchsess maintained that even in Catholic states it was no longer the bishops who governed, but the princes and their officials.

To a still greater degree was this the case in France and in the widespread dominions of the Spanish crown, in Naples, Sicily and Spain itself. Pius IV was therefore perfectly justified when, in April, 1563, he made complaints to the ambassador of Philip II about the usurpation of ecclesiastical rights by the Spanish government, and threatened to lay the matter before the Council at Trent to be dealt with there. In saying this he referred especially to church patronage, the office of grand master, the Inquisition, etc. All clear-sighted people, and especially Cardinal Morone, were of opinion that when they were dealing with general reform in the Council, the princes must not be excepted. In April the Bishop of Orvieto drew up a memorial on the encroachments of the secular princes in spiritual matters, and sent it to Rome. On the strength of this Borromeo gave the legates strict injunctions on June 26th to place this subject on the agenda for the Council, which was accordingly done.

At the end of July a detailed draft of reform in forty-two chapters was drawn up, which was handed to the envoys of the princes, so that they might make their observations upon it. This draft was so comprehensive, that the idea, so firmly

rooted in the minds of many of the envoys, that the Council would only occupy itself with the redress of unimportant matters in the organization of the Church, was completely destroyed. The envoys were all the more dismayed, as the thirty-ninth chapter contained a number of strict regulations tending to ensure the Liberty of the Church against the interference and encroachment of the civil power. The first draft, which was subsequently much modified, was to the following effect : the princes are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, all interference in purely spiritual matters, while the observance of the ancient privileges of the Church is enjoined on them. The following demands are made on behalf of the Church: free jurisdiction, freedom in all matters which immediately or mediately concern the ecclesiastical forum, and, under limitations which were minutely detailed, exemption from taxes, burdens of state, and public offices which had been unlawfully imposed. Princes are not to confer or in any way grant expectancies to prelates or chapters, and they are to leave untouched ecclesiastical properties and rights, as well as the properties and rights of such lay persons as are under ecclesiastical patronage. The servants, soldiers and horses of princes must not in future be quartered in the houses of ecclesiastics or monasteries ; the exequatur or so-called placet of the princes must be unconditionally abolished.

The representatives of Ferdinand I, whose zeal for reform had, since June, under the influence of the theological commission, again come to the fore with increased bitterness, were the first to hand to the legates their views on the forty-two chapters of July 31st. On August 3rd the French and Portuguese envoys presented their observations, which the Imperial envoy at once sent to his master. On August 7th, the Spanish envoy, Count di Luna, submitted his remarks, and, true to his previous policy of obstruction, demanded that the reform commission should be made up by nations.

The demand that the civil authorities should also be submitted to reform roused a violent storm of protest among the great Catholic powers, all the more so as many of the requirements put forward were too strictly conceived, and were based upon a canonical point of view which, owing to the changed conditions, had become impossible. It is beyond question that the whole subject of the reform of the princes had been brought forward for the purpose of moderating the reform requirements of the secular powers with regard to the spiritual authorities, by calling attention to their own shortcomings, but the opinion expressed at the time, that the strict secular reform had been so closely bound up with the ecclesiastical in order that both might be abandoned at the protest of the princes, was a wicked insinuation. When even Ferdinand I repeated this assertion, it clearly shows the sway exercised over this well-meaning but easily influenced monarch by his advisers. It is not surprising that Philip II at once made complaints in Rome, through his ambassadors, on the subject of the reform of the princes, because, should the Council adopt the projected measures, Spain would be more affected than any other country, since the government of no other Catholic state allowed so much oppression of the Church as was permitted there.

In the meantime Philip's envoy at Trent was endeavouring by subterfuges of every kind to bring about a delay in the activities of the Council. Although the Count di Luna had made countless observations upon the other articles of reform, he now refused to do so with regard to the reform of the princes, so that it might

not seem that he in any way sanctioned it. The difficulties which were thus caused for the legates were still further increased by the fact that the great differences of opinion on the sacrament of Matrimony, especially the prohibition of clandestine marriages, tended to become greater rather than less. This subject was discussed from July 24th to the 31st, again, upon a new formula from August 1st to the 23rd, and lastly, upon yet a third formula, from September 7th to the 10th.

Notwithstanding the great difficulties which stood in the way of the settlement of the decree on Matrimony, as well as those on reform, Pius IV, convinced of the necessity of bringing the Council to an end without taking into consideration the opposition of Spain, urged the hurrying on of the proceedings with ever increasing vehemence. In this respect the legates had already done all that they possibly could, but the difficulties increased from day to day. They had at last, after repeated conferences, succeeded in finding a new formula for the articles on reform, which now consisted of thirty-six chapters. This was sent to the Emperor on August 20th. The last chapter treated of the reform of the princes in twelve articles. Its form was so moderate that the legates entertained the hope that it would meet with universal approval. Great, therefore, was their astonishment and dismay when the Archbishop of Prague appeared on August 27th, and demanded in the name of the Emperor that they should abandon the reform of the princes. They very reasonably expressed their surprise that this request should now be made, since the Emperor had always insisted so strongly on general reform, and Morone was quite outspoken in telling the Archbishop of Prague his opinion. On former occasions bitter complaints had been made when the legates sought to learn the opinion of the Pope before they submitted questions to the Council, and yet the Pope was not only their prince, but also that of the Church. Now, however, when the Pope had practically waived this right, and at the same time empowered the Council to act in all matters without previous intimation to Rome, the Emperor wished to dictate to the Council that such and such an article is not to be dealt with. Neither the legates nor the fathers of the Council were prepared to submit to such a lowering of the Papal dignity, or such a violation of the freedom of the Council. At length, in order to avoid an open breach between the Emperor and the Council, they decided that the Archbishop of Prague should ask for further instructions from Ferdinand I, to which course Cardinal Guise also agreed.

During these negotiations, Morone, in his easily understood excitement, had made use of such strong expressions that he thought it well to send a letter of explanation to the Emperor; he remained, however, quite firm on the point, and defended his views in a second letter which he addressed to Ferdinand in the attempt to dissuade him from his opposition to the arguments put forward by the legates. In this letter he submitted the following statements: the reform decree was in the first instance handed to all the envoys, so that it might, after it had been amended in accordance with their suggestions, finally be laid before the fathers. Several articles, to which the envoys had taken exception, were either altered or entirely withdrawn. We have urgently begged every one of the envoys to give us his own views upon the matter, so that if anything now appears in the decree to which one or another takes exception, it is not our fault, but that of the person who kept silent. It is, however, quite out of the question for us to let the whole decree lapse, or even to postpone it to another time, without causing the greatest scandal, throwing everything into confusion. Almost the whole of the

bishops are convinced that if the reform of the whole ecclesiastical body is to be taken in hand, those obstacles must be removed by which the bishops are completely paralysed in the government of their churches by the civil authorities. Should those obstacles not be removed, the reform will be not only defective, but useless, and all the trouble which your majesty and we ourselves have taken will have been wasted. The whole of the contents of the decree correspond, not only with canon law, but also with laws which have been made by pious Emperors. Not all the oppressions suffered by the clergy, nor all the encroachments on the liberty of the Church are mentioned in it, many such things having been omitted on account of the circumstances of the times, especially such things as might disturb the peace of Germany, or seem to hamper the defence against the hereditary enemy of Christendom. As the opponents of our true religion are most violently bent on the expulsion and destruction of the bishops and other clergy, it is only right that the Council and the Catholic princes should support them in their ecclesiastical ministry, and uphold their dignity, especially as we may hope, in virtue of the regulations already issued, or about to be issued, to have as bishops men who are learned, prudent, eminently pious and worthy of respect; people cannot be brought back from vice to virtue, from false doctrines to true piety, by bishops who possess no real authority.

At the same time as Morone was making these courageous remonstrances, the French government was preparing, by threats of extreme measures, to make the reform of the princes impossible. On August 28th the French envoys were instructed to retire, as a protest, to Venice, and to cause the French bishops to leave, as soon as the Council touched upon the rights and liberties of the French crown. The power of the Council, so Charles IX declared, was exclusively limited to the reform of the ecclesiastical body, and it had no authority to interfere in the affairs and rights of the state.

The legates found themselves in an increasingly critical position, as the majority of the fathers insisted that the whole of the thirty-six articles, including that on the reform of the princes, should be submitted. The conferences on the first twenty-one chapters were begun on September 9th with a speech by Cardinal Guise, who spoke in words of praise of the readiness of the Pope and the legates to promote the work of reform. Among his remarks, his demand for a special decision as to the reform of the Cardinals met with great and almost universal approval. It was found impossible to bring these conferences to an end before the Session fixed for September 16th, and for this reason, as well as on account of the great differences of opinion concerning the sacrament of Matrimony, Morone, at the General Congregation on September 15th, announced to the fathers that the Session appointed for the following day could not be held. His proposal to postpone it to St. Martin's day was accepted against a minority.

On the afternoon of September 15th, the Imperial envoy delivered a letter of the 4th from Ferdinand I, which asked for a further adjournment of the reform of the princes. The legates replied that they could only delay the matter so long as the conferences on the first twenty-one chapters should last.

The treatment of the reform of the princes was impatiently desired by the majority of the bishops, because they knew very well that it was a question of their own authority and independence. The difficult position in which the legates found

themselves was further aggravated by the fact that they were not united among themselves. Cardinals Navagero and Hosius insisted so strongly, in the discussions on the sacrament of Matrimony, on their own special wishes, that the speedy close of the Council, so longed for by Morone, was continually delayed. Morone and Simonetta did not themselves agree upon several questions of reform; Simonetta defended the interests of the Curia and the College of Cardinals more energetically than Morone, against whom Cardinal Farnese in particular expressed his displeasure on this account.

On September 16th the General Congregation continued its deliberations on the articles on reform, and the question of the exemption of the chapters especially led to violent discussions. The conferences were brought to a close on October 2nd, by a memorable speech from Lainez, but before this an unexpected occurrence had taken place in the General Congregation of September 22nd.

The legates had been able to report to Rome on September 20th that, on the strength of fresh instructions, the French envoys, du Ferrier and Pibrac, had informed them that their government was pleased that the Council had undertaken the discussion of reform, and disapproved of the arbitrary departure of several of the French bishops from Trent. On this occasion the French envoys had expressed a desire to be allowed to bring forward in the General Congregation several matters concerned with reform, which were in them-selves of small importance. The legates made no difficulty about granting this request, and appointed the General Congregation of September 22nd for the purpose. On that occasion, however, du Ferrier made a speech which completely and most painfully surprised the legates. The Frenchman began with a complaint of the delay in ecclesiastical reform, and then at once passed on to what mattered most, the actual plans for reform. He declared that this destroyed the freedom of the Gallican Church, and the authority of His Most Christian Majesty. For centuries, he continued, these monarchs had issued ecclesiastical laws which were in no way contrary to dogma, or injurious to the freedom of the bishops, as the latter were in no way prevented from residing the whole year round in their dioceses, from preaching daily the pure word of God, from leading sober, just and godly lives, and allowing the revenues of the Church to be used for the benefit of the poor! The Most Christian Kings had founded nearly the whole of the churches and had, as rulers of France, the right to dispose freely of the property and revenues of the clergy, as they did of those of their subjects in general, when the well-being and needs of the state required it. Moreover, they possessed this right, this power and authority, not from men but from God, who had given men kings, so that they should obey them. The fathers, therefore, must not do anything against these rights, or against Gallican freedom, otherwise it was his duty to protest, which he now did.

This outburst on the part of du Ferrier, the offensive tone of which was still further increased by several ironical ex-pressions, was bound to cause much displeasure to the fathers of the Council, and on the following day was severely condemned by Carlo Grassi. Bishop of Montefiascone. The French bishops were also affected by the general feeling of disgust, the Archbishop of Sens going so far as to declare that du Ferrier intended to urge Charles IX to follow in the footsteps of Henry VIII. This opinion was shared by Morone, who regarded the situation as very dangerous, and feared a French schism. His principal hope of preventing

matters from coming to an extremity lay in Cardinal Guise, the latter had not been present at the insulting address of du Ferrier, as he had started on September 18th, in company with several other French prelates and theologians, for his long projected visit to Rome.

Pius IV received the French Cardinal, who reached Rome on September 29th, with every imaginable sign of honour; Guise had apartments assigned to him in the Vatican, where the Pope paid him a very ceremonial visit. The two discussed all the questions then pending in a long conversation, and with regard to du Ferrier's speech Guise gave the Pope the tranquillizing assurance that the envoy had never been instructed by his king to act in such a manner. In consequence of this, the shrewd Pius IV ordered the legates on October 2nd to pay no attention to the French protest. The Pope showed the greatest consideration to Cardinal Guise, and a complete understanding between the two was all the more easily reached as the French Cardinal was very glad to be again on good terms with the Pope, both for political and religious reasons. In a consistory on October 8th, Pius IV bestowed the greatest praise on the Cardinal, expressing at the same time his hope of the speedy ending of the Council. When Guise left Rome on October 19th, Pius IV and Borromeo sent letters to the legates at Trent, in which, amid many words of praise, the firm conviction was expressed that Guise would be true to his promises. "His interests," the Pope said, "are so closely bound up with ours, that there is no room for doubt." Consequently the legates were instructed to treat the Cardinal on his return to Trent exactly as if he were a legate; the same honour was also to be shown to Cardinal Madruzzo. Guise deserved this confidence, for he indeed returned to Trent with the honest intention of giving his help in the best interests of the Church, so as to bring the Council to a speedy and honourable end.

The decisive turn as to this question, which had become more and more heated, had taken place while Guise was still absent in Rome.

However widely the views of the two supreme heads of Christendom might differ on the subject of the Council and reform, there was, nevertheless, one subject which was calculated to bring them together; this was the Papal confirmation of Maximilian's election as King of the Romans, a matter in which the Emperor, who was now growing old, had an extraordinary interest.

Pius IV had, on many occasions, proved himself to be an exceedingly adroit politician, but never was his skill more clearly shown than in this matter. As soon as Maximilian's election had taken place, on November 24th, 1562, very protracted negotiations had followed. The latest investigations have thrown complete light on these, and have shown why Pius IV changed from his originally favourable attitude. After Ferdinand I had plainly shown his desire to influence the Council independently of the Pope, by the delivery of the reform libellum of June 6th, the happy idea came into the mind of Pius IV to connect the confirmation of Maximilian's election with the Council, that is to say, to obtain Ferdinand's consent to the closure of the Council in exchange for such confirmation. After long and tiresome negotiations, an agreement was at last reached on this basis. The task, as important as it was difficult, of acting as mediator, was undertaken by Delfino, the ambitious nuncio at the Imperial court,

who succeeded in solving the question to the satisfaction of Pope and Emperor alike. This decision was reached at the beginning of October.

On the morning of October 10th, a letter from Delfino to the legates, dated October 4th, arrived in Trent, with the news that the Emperor had agreed that the Council should be closed at the next Session. Two days before this, at the request of almost all the envoys, it had been resolved to postpone the question of the reform of the princes until the following Session. Delfino said that the Emperor had sent his envoys similar instructions, and had also sent them, so as to avoid all delay, a proposal for mediation in the question of ecclesiastical liberties. The contents of this important message was confirmed on the same day by the Imperial envoys. The legates immediately announced the happy tidings to Rome, adding that they were endeavouring to make an alteration in the articles relating to the secular princes, and therefore begged for immediate instructions, which were sent to them as soon as possible.

Great joy was felt in Trent as well as in Rome, at this decision of the Emperor, and the satisfaction of Pius IV was indescribable. He personally thanked the Imperial ambassador, Arco, and addressed glowing words of gratitude to Maximilian in the consistory on October 15th. On the same day the legates were instructed to hasten the proceedings of the Council as much as possible, and Borromeo wrote a special letter to Morone, telling him to be as active as possible in this sense, without regard for what the Spanish representative might say.

Thanks to the early receipt of the Papal instructions, as well as to the zeal and skill of the legates, among whom Morone especially distinguished himself, the still outstanding difficulties were overcome in a comparatively short time, and it was possible to keep to St. Martin's day as the date for the next Session. The legates, who had constantly to struggle against the Count di Luna's policy of obstruction, had already submitted a new, the fourth, version of the canons and reform decree on the sacrament of Matrimony, on October 13th. As the result of the conferences held on this on October 26th and 27th, the final version of the twelve canons and the ten reform chapters in question was drawn up. A commission of eighteen prelates was appointed to formulate anew the first twenty-one chapters on general reform, and they began their work on October 22nd. The new formula drafted by this commission was laid before the fathers of the Council on October 31st, and these once more discussed it in eleven Congregations, from November 2nd to the 8th. The definite form was decided on November 9th and 10th.

A leading part in this favourable result was taken by Cardinal Guise, who had returned from Rome on November 5th. He was not disheartened by the fact that his endeavours, when passing through Venice, to induce the French envoys who were staying there, to return to Trent, proved vain. The tribute which, in the General Congregation of November 8th, he paid to the zeal of Pius IV for reform, corresponded to the favourable account of the state of affairs in Rome which the austere Archbishop of Braga, who had also just returned from the Eternal City, had given before his arrival.



The demand made by a majority of the fathers that a special chapter should undertake the reform of the College of Cardinals, caused great difficulty at the discussions on general reform. Those fathers who opposed this were of opinion that the matter must be left to the decision of the Pope. It is easy to understand that such a demand naturally caused great excitement in the Curia; both the Farnese Cardinals wrote in the sense of the whole Sacred College to Morone blaming him strongly for having allowed the Curia and the College of Cardinals to be burdened with the very strictest of reforms while the princes escaped altogether. Morone, whose own elevation had been due to the Farnese Pope, answered frankly, justifying his conduct on the ground of necessity, but deprecating exaggerated alarm. The opposition of the influential Farnese, however, increased the dissensions at Trent as to how this matter was to be decided, for it was extremely difficult to hit upon the true mean between the two extremes. Eventually Morone found a solution; he associated the reform of the Cardinals with that of the bishops, and it might easily be taken for granted that the latter would avoid anything like exaggerated severity in their own affairs. Besides this a still graver danger would be avoided by Morone's conciliatory proposal, namely that of fresh discussions on the mutual relations of the Pope and the Council.

All those who did not possess the right to vote were excluded from the last General Congregation on November 10th, to which all the canons and decrees were once again submitted; in previous General Congregations the more important theologians had been admitted. The canons and decrees on the sacrament of Matrimony were first brought forward, and before proceeding to the consideration of the decrees on discipline, the resolution was adopted to add to all decrees the clause: "in everything and always without prejudice to the authority of the Holy See." All questions submitted, including the declaration of the right of proposition, in the twenty-first chapter of the reform decree, were almost unanimously accepted.

After the happy issue of these preliminary proceedings, the XXIVth Session, the eighth under Pius IV, was held on November nth, 1563. There were present the four legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and eighty-six bishops, five abbots, six generals of orders, and eleven envoys. High Mass was celebrated by an Italian, Cornaro, Bishop of Treviso, and the sermon preached by a Frenchman, Richardot, Bishop of Arras. The doctrinal chapter on Matrimony, in twelve canons, and the reform decree on the same subject, in twelve chapters, were first submitted. The first of these chapters declared clandestine marriages null and void; for the valid celebration of marriage, the presence of the parish priest, or, with his permission or that of the ordinary, of another priest, and of two or three witnesses, were necessary. In the chapters that followed there were regulations concerning the impediments to matrimony, which were in some ways limited, the punishment of those who abducted women, the marriages of *vagi*, laws against concubinage, or violations of the freedom of the marriage contract, and finally regulations concerning the forbidden times. While a section of the fathers violently opposed a good number of the regulations, the majority accepted these decrees. Then followed the reform decree, in twenty chapters. It contained useful regulations as to the nomination to bishoprics, and the appointment of Cardinals, the holding of provincial and diocesan synods, the visitation of dioceses, the exercise of the office of preaching,

legal procedure against bishops, the extension of the dispensing power of the bishops, the instruction of the people on the sacraments and the Mass, public penances and the office of penitentiary, the visitation of exempted churches, the juridical import of titles of honour, the qualities and duties of cathedral officials, the accumulation of several benefices, the constitution of regular parochial deaneries, the keeping intact of beneficiary goods, the benefices of cathedral and collegiate churches, the administration of dioceses during a vacancy in the see, the abolition of the union of several benefices in one person, if the obligations connected therewith entailed the duty of residence, the prohibition of expectancies, provisions, reservations, and other similar privileges in the case of vacant benefices, on the manner of appointment to vacant parishes, and ecclesiastical procedure at law. A special decree was added to this which gave the following explanation of the much discussed right of proposition: "As the council desires that its decrees may leave no room for doubt in the future, it explains the words contained in the decree published in the first Session under Pius IV, namely that the Council shall, *proponentibus legatis*, deal with such subjects as shall seem suitable to end religious controversies, to set a bridle on evil tongues, and to reform the abuses of corrupt customs, by declaring that it has not had the intention, by the words in question, of changing the usual manner of dealing with affairs in General Councils, nor of investing thereby anyone with a new right, or of withdrawing any which may already exist."

At the voting on the reform decree so many divergent votes were given in the case of chapters III, V, and VI, that after the Session these had to be once more referred to the commission appointed for the drawing up of the decree, and it was only on December 3rd that it was possible to publish it in the amended form decided upon between November 12th and 15th. The eighth Session had begun at half past nine in the morning, and had lasted until half past seven in the evening.

With general consent the next Session was fixed for December 9th, with the power, if necessary, to anticipate that date. The still undecided chapter on the exemptions of cathedral chapters, as well as other questions of reform which had not yet been dealt with, were to be treated in this Session. Pius IV. sanctioned all the decrees of the XXIVth Session, and addressed letters of thanks to the persons principally concerned, at the same time urging the speedy end of the Council.

The legates were in no need of any such exhortation. Supported by the wish of Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, the Kings of Portugal and Poland, the Republic of Venice and the other Italian governments, they did their utmost, in spite of the opposition of di Luna, to bring about a successful conclusion of the Council. Morone, above all, undisturbed by calumnies, and enmity, worked for this end. He succeeded in finding a way out of the difficult question of the exemption of the cathedral chapters; that great abuses existed in this matter was undeniable, but the desire of Philip II to have them removed was by no means disinterested. He wished to have the power of the chapters limited as much as possible, principally because his influence, which in consequence of the royal bestowal of the bishoprics was already very considerable, would thereby be much increased. The Pope was obliged to resist this, so he and the legates espoused the cause of the chapters. On account of the dependence of the Spanish bishops on their government there was reason to fear that they might allow themselves to be led by the will of Philip II, if the votes were taken by word of mouth. The legates

therefore resolved that on this occasion the votes should be made in writing, and in this manner they gained an important majority for the chapters. Guise skilfully mediated with the Spanish bishops, who were now satisfied to accept a much less extensive amplification of their faculties.

On November 13th Morone summoned the legates, Cardinals Guise and Madruzzo, as well as twenty-five other prelates of different nations, to a meeting, and impressed upon them the necessity of bringing the Council to a close with the next Session. Guise also spoke urgently in favour of a conclusion, painting in strong colours the dangerous state of France, and alluding to the national council which was threatened there. The Bishops of Lerida and Leon were alone in wishing that the King of Spain should first give his consent. The Archbishop of Granada, on the other hand, was unconditionally in favour of the closing of the Council. The dangers arising from the possible decease of the Pope or the Emperor, and the inconveniences which had arisen from the long absence of the bishops from their dioceses, were urgent reasons in favour of this view. It was, therefore, resolved to resume the discussion of the reform decrees already submitted. With regard to the reform of the princes they approached the task with great moderation, as the secular power would very soon be required for the enforcement of the decrees. They therefore adopted that formulation of the decree, as to which the Pope had come to an agreement with the Emperor. In this the prescriptions of earlier Councils and canons were merely renewed, the anathemas being replaced by paternal admonitions. With regard to the questions of dogma which were still in arrears, such as the doctrines of Purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of the saints, and the veneration of their images and relics, it was only necessary to gather together all that had been decided in former Councils, in such a way as to remove abuses, but without entering upon discussions. On account of the general feeling of weariness even the envoys of the princes agreed to this procedure.

The decisions arrived at on November 13th were laid by Morone before the General Congregation two days later, and the remaining fourteen chapters of the reform decree were then discussed. As the last one, that on the reform of the princes, had been given a very mild and elastic form, it was necessary that ecclesiastical reform should be modified as well.

The discussions upon this lasted from November 15th to the 18th, on which date the six other reform chapters were submitted. To these, on November 20th, was added a decree upon the reform of the regulars, which was discussed from November 23rd to the 25th.

On November 27th the Spanish envoy made a protest against these steps for bringing the Council to such a hurried close, whereupon Morone again summoned a special meeting at his residence on November 28th; all present again spoke unanimously in favour of closing the Council. The Archbishop of Granada was alone in demanding that, fifteen days after the coming Session, yet another should be held. The majority of the fathers would not agree to this, but determined to prepare the dogmatic questions already mentioned for the Session appointed for December 9th.

On November 16th Hosius had informed Commendone that the hopes of a successful ending of the Council had never been so great as they were at present. Cardinal Guise urged haste, and threatened that if the proceedings were drawn out till Christmas he and all the French bishops would leave Trent. The envoys of the Emperor and the other princes were similarly insistent, so that, unless something unexpected should occur, the desired goal seemed likely to be reached in a very short time.

The unexpected, however, did occur. On November 29th and 30th the representative of Philip II, the Count di Luna, summoned the Spanish bishops, and such Italians as were subject to Spanish rule, to his house, in order to bring about, through their means, a prolongation of the Council. Only two or three of those who appeared, however, shared the views of the envoy. The last of these meetings finished at seven o'clock in the evening. Two hours later, a courier, sent from Rome by the Spanish ambassador, Requesens, arrived at di Luna's house with the news that the Pope was mortally ill. Soon afterwards Morone and Simonetta received a letter from Cardinal Borromeo, dated November 27th, telling of the grave illness of the Pope, accompanied by a certified statement from the physicians. A postscript announced the very urgent wish of Pius IV that the closing of the Council should be hurried on in every possible way. Haste was absolutely necessary, for a schism was to be feared, on account of the mutual dispute between the Council and the Cardinals in Rome concerning the right of electing a new Pope; not only were the legates convinced of this, but also Guise and Madruzzo. The legates, therefore, immediately summoned the envoys and the most important prelates, in order to lay the threatened danger before them. All, with the exception of the representatives of Philip II and several of the Spaniards, declared themselves agreeable to the last Session of the Council being held at once, and a special meeting of the prelates, summoned on December 2nd, also agreed to this. A General Congregation was held on the same day, which, with the utmost speed, prepared the whole of the material waiting for publication. On account of the great number of subjects, the sitting had to last for two days, and was held on December 3rd and 4th. It was also expressly resolved that the legates should afterwards seek the confirmation of the Pope in the name of the whole Council. During the night better news arrived as to the Pope's condition, but the legates and deputies adhered to the resolution they had taken, and worked until midnight to clear away and settle the last difficulties which had been raised against some of the decrees, partly by the envoys and partly by the fathers.

On the morning of December 3rd, the XXVth and last Session of the Council, the ninth under Pius IV, was opened. High Mass was celebrated by Zambeccaro, Bishop of Sulmona, and the sermon was preached by Girolamo Ragazzoni, Bishop of Nazianzen and coadjutor of Famagosta. The decrees on Purgatory, the invocation of the Saints, and the veneration of their relics and images, were read and almost unanimously accepted. The same was done with the decree on the reform of the regulars, the twenty-two chapters of which contained regulations on the observance of the rules of the orders, the property of communities as well as of individuals, the number of the members, the foundation of monasteries, the enclosure of convents of nuns, the election of superiors, the visitation of convents, whether exempt or non-exempt, the confessions of nuns, the exercise of the cure of souls by regulars, the settlement of suits, criminal procedure, vows and novices, freedom of entry, the treatment of "apostates" and benefices held in

commendam. With regard to these last, some of the fathers wished that they should be entirely abolished, but Guise had already prevented this in the General Congregation.

The general reform decree comprised the most various subjects in twenty chapters. It insisted on simplicity in the houses of the bishops and also of the Cardinals, recommended caution in imposing the sentence of excommunication, made rules as to the profession of faith to be made by prelates and other ecclesiastical officials, as well as the professors in Catholic universities, foundations for masses, the visitation of exempted chapters, the abolition of expectancies of ecclesiastical benefices, the administration of hospitals, the right of patronage, the settlement of lawsuits, the lease of ecclesiastical property, the payment of tithes, burial fees, the administration of benefices entailing the cure of souls, and the punishment of clerical concubinage. The nineteenth chapter pronounced excommunication on duellists, their seconds and supporters, and forbade Christian burial to those who fell in a duel. Even the onlookers at a duel were subjected to excommunication. There next followed, as the twentieth chapter, a "strong exhortation to all the princes to maintain and protect the rights and immunities of the Church." In this respect all the earlier canons and constitutions were renewed, and the princes were exhorted to make it possible for the bishops to reside in their dioceses in peace and dignity. The twenty-first and last chapter contained the clause that the authority of the Apostolic See must be held inviolate against all the decisions of the Council. The acceptance of the reform decree took place with an almost miraculous unanimity; it was only with regard to the last two chapters that some remarks were made. After it had lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until nearly five in the evening, the Session, as had been previously arranged in the General Congregation, was adjourned till the following day. Besides the four legates, there were present the two Cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and fifty bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of orders, and eleven envoys of the princes.

After the Session, a large majority, among whom was Guise, expressed a wish for a decree on indulgences. Morone was opposed to this as he feared a further delay in concluding the Council, as well as undue precipitancy in the matter, but he was forced at last to yield to the general desire. A decree on indulgences was framed during the night on the basis of the previous discussions, and this was presented very early on December 4th to a General Congregation, in spite of further opposition on the part of Morone. Then they repaired to the Cathedral, where the Archbishop of Catania celebrated High Mass, after which, before anything else, the decree on indulgences was read. This declared that indulgences were salutary and that the Church had the power to grant them; the abuses committed by the collectors of money for indulgences was met by a regulation which very strictly forbade all manner of gain in the matter. With regard to the other abuses in the matter of indulgences, which on account of their multiplicity were not specifically mentioned, the bishops were to discuss these in the provincial synods, and to refer them to the Pope in order that he might remove them. The next decree dealt with the observance of fast and feast days; another dealt with the publication of the Index, the catechism, the breviary and the missal, these latter matters being referred to the Pope. Then the Council declared that from the regulations as to the order of precedence observed among the envoys on this occasion, no one could claim any rights, while at the same time the rights of

no one were impugned. Finally a decree was read concerning the observance and acceptance of the Council's decisions.

After the decrees had been approved, they proceeded to read once more all the decisions of the preceding Sessions. Finally the fathers were again asked whether they approved of the closure of the Council, and the confirmation of its decrees by the Pope. All gave their assent, the Archbishop of Granada alone declaring the Papal confirmation to be unnecessary. With the words "Andate in pace," the first president, Morone, declared the Council closed. The decrees were confirmed by the signature of two hundred and fifty-five fathers : four Cardinal legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, a hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies for those who were absent, and seven generals of orders.

When the acclamations, led by Cardinal Guise after the manner of ancient Councils, resounded through the Cathedral of Trent and proclaimed the conclusion of the great work, many of the fathers of the Council could not restrain their tears. They were all affected by the solemnity of the moment, for they felt that the hand of God had turned over a page in the history of His Church.

CHAPTER XI

Significance of the Council of Trent

In spite of all the disturbances, both from within and from without, in spite of all the delays and obstructions, as well as the many human weaknesses which had come to light during the course of its proceedings, the Council had accomplished a mighty work, and one of decisive importance.

It was true that in spite of every effort, no restoration had been effected at Trent of that unity of faith, on account of which from the first the Council had been so ardently longed for, although there had been no lack on its part of invitations to the followers of the new beliefs. "We have," said the preacher at the Session of December 4th, "chosen this city, at the entrance into Germany, on the very threshold, so to speak, of their house, in order to remove all suspicion from their minds, we have refused to be guarded by troops, we have issued letters of safe-conduct which they themselves have framed, we have waited long for them, we have begged and implored them to come and gain knowledge from the light of the truth." But in the end the hand that had been stretched out had been rejected in the most scornful manner; the last hope of coming to an understanding had failed, the breach was now complete. It was necessary to grow accustomed to the thought that the unity of the family of the Christian nations, that most precious heritage of the middle ages, had been for ever broken, and that a new epoch had begun.

However painful this outlook may have been, the breach had brought with it, on the other hand, that clearing up of the religious position which had so long been needed. There could no longer be any doubt as to what was Catholic and what was not, and that religious uncertainty, which had confused the understanding of so many Catholics, and had paralysed so much activity, was now at an end. "This is the belief of us all, this is our unanimous conviction, to which, in token of our agreement and acceptance, we now sign our names. This is the faith of St. Peter and the apostles, this is the faith of the fathers and of all true believers." Thus, after the reading of the decrees of the Council, had Cardinal Guise exclaimed, in the midst of the acclamations at the last Session, and in the full consciousness that their agreement would be handed down, and renewed again and again, to the uttermost bounds of the earth, and to the end of time, the fathers had unanimously answered: "So do we believe, so do we judge, so do we append our names." Error had been judged, the old consciousness of the faith had found a new and exact expression, simple in its form, and definite in its facts.

The “purity of the Gospel” which was always on the lips of the adherents of the new faith, formed the starting point for the Council’s pronouncements. For the assembled bishops, however, there could be no question of bringing the “pure Gospel” out of a hiding place where it had lain concealed during more than a thousands years of oblivion; for them it was but a question of preserving the purity of the old and never-forgotten doctrines of Christ, by the removal of error. To them, moreover, the Gospel was not only that which had been written down by the evangelists and apostles, but all that had been preached by Christ and the apostles, and had been handed down by the Church over and above the Holy Scriptures. The first and fundamental error of the innovators, that the Holy Scriptures are the exclusive source of faith, is thus rejected. After having decided which books belong to the Holy Scriptures, they replied to that other fundamental principle of Protestantism, the claim for private judgment, by the decision that no one shall be permitted to oppose his own opinions to that of the whole Church.

Thus, in the first dogmatic decrees, the principal question which divided the old and the new beliefs was touched upon, in that the differences which divided not only in the actual dogmas which were accepted or rejected, but much more in the reason why each article of belief was accepted or rejected, and in the difference of opinion as to the sources of faith, and the standpoint which the individual had to take up with regard to them.

But the Council also had to instruct the faithful in the particular distinctive doctrines, or at least in those which were most important. Here again attention was directed in the first place to those errors which formed the foundation of the doctrinal teaching of the new system of belief, the doctrines of original sin and justification. This subject was of the utmost importance, not only for the faith, but also for the Christian life. Consequences of the most far-reaching importance might result, should such doctrines make their way among the masses of the people, as that the will of man is not free, and is purely passive as regards the matter of salvation, or that good works have no value for salvation. On the other hand it was by no means easy to give precise and satisfactory expression, from every point of view, to the principles living in the consciousness of faith in the Church, as to the manner of justification. There were no decisions of former Councils upon which it was possible to lean; the older theologians had made scarcely any pronouncements as to justification, while the polemical writings of Catholic scholars of later times were to some extent tainted by the error of double justice. Thus the Council was in this faced by its most difficult task; it accomplished it brilliantly, and to the complete satisfaction of all the fathers of the Council, after arduous labours which occupied seven months of its time.

The doctrine of the Sacraments, by means of which justification is granted, increased, and restored, forms the subject of the decisions of the Sessions that follow, from the VIIth to the XXIVth inclusively. The doctrine of the Eucharist as a sacrament is treated in an especially detailed manner in the XIIIth, and in connection therewith that of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the XXIIInd Session. In the VIIth Session, in which the sacraments in general, with baptism and confirmation, were dealt with, the Council was content with rejecting the errors of the innovators in short propositions. With the next dogmatic decision, in the XIIIth Session, it reverted to the procedure adopted in the VIth Session, namely, that the Catholic doctrine should first be systematically set forth, with proofs, and



only then were the errors opposed to it condemned in short canons. The fathers of the Council had the great advantage when making decrees on the sacraments, that the subject had already been exhaustively discussed by the scholastic theologians. Where the opinions of the scholastics were not in agreement, the question was either evaded or left open, as not yet being ripe for a decision, or else not of importance to the faith. The XXVth and last Session simply promulgates some decrees, partly dogmatic, on Purgatory, the cultus of the saints, relics, images and indulgences.

No formal, definitive, decision was pronounced at Trent with regard to a very important doctrine : that of the primacy of the Roman See. The Council, however, often calls the Roman Church the mother and mistress of all the churches ;x it ordered that at the acceptance of the Council's decisions at each of the provincial synods, and at the reception of any ecclesiastical dignity, all must promise true obedience to the Pope. The Council also ordained that its decrees should only have force subject to the maintenance of the rights of the Roman See. It recognized that the Pope, in virtue of his office, has to care for the whole Church, and that it fell to him to provide for the holding of an ecumenical Council.

Finally the Council recognized, de facto, the primacy of the Pope by submitting, in the last of its decrees, the decisions arrived at to Papal confirmation.

The denial of the Papal supremacy on the part of the innovators was sufficiently answered by these decisions, but Gallican views as to the primacy, and especially the question whether the Pope was subject to an ecumenical Council, were not expressly decided at Trent. On account of the uncertainty of the religious position in France, it was to be feared that a formal condemnation of this doctrine, the evil inheritance of the XVth Century, might give rise to a schism.

As regards everything else, the "most important" doctrines of the innovators were condemned by the Council. The old Church, which had been defamed and said to be dead, had proved her vitality in a striking and most efficacious manner. If Luther had attained to great success, through his superiority as a writer endowed with a great command of language, the discussions and decrees of the Council at Trent displayed a superiority of another kind, the superiority of ripe theological science, penetrating discernment, and a deep understanding of the coherence of Christian doctrine.

The reform decrees of the Council are no less striking a testimony to the spirit and strength of the old Church. She had been attacked in every way, in word, in writing, and in picture; she had been represented as the kingdom of Anti-Christ, and the sink of iniquity, but behold, the calumniated Church had risen again, and her very rising was a proof that the spirit of Paul and Elias was still alive in her.

The abuses with which the Church had so often been reproached are neither denied nor extenuated in the reform decrees. The very first sentence of the first decree candidly acknowledges that ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed, and that the morality of both clergy and people was at a low ebb. Nevertheless, the fathers, with a holy earnestness and zeal, which stand out in every decree, and, so to speak, in every sentence, set themselves to stop this

depravity, and to restore the original purity in every respect. It was not enough for them to attack merely the grossest abominations, but with a high idealism, which can only be explained by the consciousness that the true Church of Christ has divine powers at her disposal, which need but to be awakened to cause everything to blossom forth again in all its former beauty, they fixed their hopes on the highest aims. They would lend no ear to the advice that they should meet at least the worst excesses of a depraved clergy by allowing the marriage of priests. They do not shrink from reminding the worldly prelates of a precept of the first centuries of the Church, according to which the table and household of a bishop must be simple and moderate; they lay it down as a principle that only they should be consecrated as bishops whose lives, from boyhood to mature age, have been spent in the praiseworthy exercises of ecclesiastical duties, who are filled with the knowledge that they are chosen, not for their own benefit, not for riches or luxury, but to work and to suffer for the honour of God. The same requirements were also extended to the Cardinals.

The whole reform plan of the fathers of the Council is built upon the conviction that the Church, in her organization, possesses both the possibility and the means of moral rejuvenation. According to their idea, the bishops are the chosen representatives of the reform, from which must proceed the whole of the new life. Consequently, the fathers began their work of reform with themselves, for the integrity of those who are in authority, in the words of Leo the Great, is the salvation of those who are subject.

At the beginning of the exhortations to the bishops stands a requirement, concerning the nature of and reason for which such violent disputes had arisen, the requirement that the bishop must not remain away from his own flock. The residence of the bishops appeared so important to the fathers, that in the introduction to the reform decree of the VIIth Session, they at once speak of the business begun “concerning residence and reform,” and towards the end of the Council they once more return to the duty of residence of the bishops, as if all the evils in the Church proceeded from the neglect of this. Since the shepherd must remain with his flock, he must not have several bishoprics in his possession, for “he is to be esteemed fortunate to whom it is given to rule even one church well and fruitfully.” The bishop must devote his whole strength to one diocese alone, he must build it up by his care for religious instruction, in the preaching which is the principal duty of bishops, by constant visitation, the punishment of the guilty, and by his care to have a good clergy.

But, on the other hand, the bishop must have the greatest possible freedom in the administration of his diocese. No privilege shall, for the future, protect the guilty cleric from his power of inflicting punishment against his visitation not even the cathedral chapters have the right to claim exemption. At his visitations he has the right to arrange matters as he thinks fit, and should his power not prove sufficient in special cases, he may then act in the name of the Pope, and as his representative. Care shall also be taken that the accused shall not tie the hands of justice by appeals and similar practices. The bishop is specially urged to take care of the poor and needy, as his government must in general bear the stamp of gentleness. The bishop should summon his clergy to a joint conference every year in a diocesan synod, while the metropolitans shall every three years hold a provincial synod.

Above all things, however, the bishops must take care to have an able and worthy clergy. For the world in general, the Council states, nothing is in a higher degree a constant lesson in piety and the service of God, than the life and example of those who are dedicated to the divine service. All look to them and regulate their conduct by their example. In their dress, their bearing and their speech, clerics must show themselves filled with the spirit of religion, so they must avoid even light sins, which in their case are very grave; they must take the lead of the people in their manner of life, their conversation, and in their learning. Parish priests should preach every Sunday and festival, and they must be specially careful about the instruction of the children in Christian doctrine.

All those who have the cure of souls are earnestly reminded of their duty of residing among their flocks. The bishop can suspend incapable clerics, ignorant parish priests must have a coadjutor, and the immoral must be punished. A number of regulations aim at preventing unworthy persons from receiving Holy Orders, above all, no one may be ordained, or receive a benefice, without having passed an examination; a certificate of good conduct from the parish priest is necessary before receiving minor orders, and only step by step, and after long proof and trial in the lower ranks, shall anyone be promoted to the priesthood. Even more important than all these regulations for the prevention of unworthy persons being admitted into the ranks of the clergy, was the decree that in every diocese where there was no university, a seminary should be established, where suitable young men were to be trained for the service of the sanctuary from their youth; by this means the formation of a clergy, who should be cultured and learned, would be assured.

Detailed steps were also taken to provide against the crying abuses in the system of benefices. Expectancies, as well as the regressus and accesses, were forbidden for the future, as well as the bestowal of benefices on minors, or canonries on such as would not be ordained, or perform the duties of their office. The Council seeks with special strictness to protect the holy sacrifice of the Mass against all abuses arising from greed for gain, irreverence or superstition. For the rest, no abuse of any importance which was existent at that time can be named for which provision was not made as far as possible. We have regulations against the court prelates, begging clerics, nepotism, unauthorized preachers of indulgences, too great or too small extension of parishes, extravagances in the matter of church music, and in the fine arts, the encroachments of lay patrons and the nobles in ecclesiastical matters; and finally against monks who wander about outside their monasteries. In its XXVth Session the Council occupied itself very minutely with the raising and renewal of the religious state.

Next to the reform of the clergy, the Council had the care of the Christian family specially at heart. After having defended the unity, indissolubility, and the religious character of matrimony in its dogmatic definitions, the reform decrees endeavour to protect the holiness of the sacrament, and to prevent scandals by a renewed prohibition of secret marriages, by a limitation of the impediments to matrimony, by admonishing parish priests to exercise care in marrying persons unknown to them, or not resident in the place, and by providing for the complete freedom of all, and especially of the weaker sex, when entering upon this contract.

After the fundamental lines for the renewal of life, both for the Church and the family, had been traced, there remained but one more field of activity for the work of reforming zeal, the held of politics. There can be no doubt that in the relations of the princes to the Church there was room for an immense number of improvements, and that a very great part of the most pressing evils was due to the fact that unworthy proteges had been intruded into ecclesiastical positions by secular officials and rulers; it was plain that Church property had been diverted from its original purpose, and that seculars influenced the government of the Church for their own selfish ends. The attempt, however, to appeal to the conscience of the princes raised a perfect storm of opposition among them. No other course, therefore, was possible to the Council than to express in general terms the hope that the princes would fulfil their duties as Catholics and as the divinely appointed protectors of the faith and the Church, and to renew the old laws for the defence of ecclesiastical liberties, and to exhort the princes to observe them.

Had it been given to the Council, by such exhortations as these, to bring the further development of absolutism to a standstill, then French, and with it European history, might have been spared the era of the revolution.

The true and intrinsic success of the Council lay within the Church itself, though even there its decrees were not all of them carried into effect everywhere or at once. The law, for example, concerning the provincial synods to be held every three years, was nowhere observed, except perhaps by St. Charles Borromeo. In Germany the existing conditions made it necessary to unite several bishoprics in the hands of the son of some powerful prince. The reform of the cathedral chapters remained a pious wish in many places, while even the important decree concerning the clerical seminaries was not at once carried out everywhere. A great number of abuses, however, were removed, many reforms were carried out at once in many districts, and in others more slowly. Many excellent bishops, some of them saints, as Charles Borromeo of Milan (died 1584), Alessandro Sauli of Aleria in Corsica (died 1592), Turibio of Lima (died 1606), and Francis de Sales (died 1622) sought to realize the ideal of a bishop sketched by the Council of Trent. The provincial and diocesan synods, which had always proved so important for the renewal of the religious spirit, were revived later, especially in France. The Council acquired inestimable merit by its raising of the status of the secular priesthood. If this body, in modern times, occupies a far more important and influential position by the side of the regular clergy than it did in the middle ages, this must be attributed for the most part, to the better training which they received as the result of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

To sum up, it is difficult to estimate too highly the importance of the Council of Trent, especially for the interior development of the Church. It laid the foundations of a true reform, and fixed Catholic doctrine on broad and systematic lines. It is at once a boundary line and a landmark, at which opposing spirits must separate, and it inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XII.

Confirmation of the Council of Trent.—The Index.— The Roman Catechism.

During his severe illness, at the end of 1563, Pius IV had spoken in a way which had aroused the expectation in the minds of well-informed persons that the decrees of the Council would be strictly enforced. After his recovery the Pope continued to express himself in the same sense. On December 12th, 1563, he held a consistory in the presence of the Imperial, Spanish, Portuguese and Venetian ambassadors, at which he expressed his joy at the happy ending of the Council. The fathers, he said, had held their discussions in complete independence, and had freely resolved to bring their deliberations to a close. No assembly which had been held during the past 500 years could compare in importance with that held at Trent in its advantageous results for the Church, in the number and learning of those who took part in it, or in the importance and complexity of the subjects dealt with. Nothing further remained but that the Pope should exercise his office by confirming and ordering the observance of what had been ordained as good and salutary. It was his intention to make some additions to the decrees; he would insist that the bishops should reside in their dioceses, and he also took the opportunity of announcing at once that no one must look for indulgence in this respect.<sup>1</sup> He then ordered a procession of thanksgiving to be made on December 15th to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

It could be seen from the replies of the Cardinals to this speech that all in Rome were not in favour of an unconditional confirmation of the reform decrees. Several remarked that explanations ought to be appended to some of the ordinances. Pius IV replied that he would consider this point on another occasion, but that it was his intention to confirm the decrees both in general and particular. In spite of this clear declaration the report spread that the Pope himself would be the first to break through the limits set by the Council, and it would seem that several of the Roman officials were agitating, more especially against a general confirmation of the reform decrees, principally because they feared the diminution of their revenues owing to the limitation of the appeals to Rome.

In the meantime, the legates, Morone and Simonetta, had returned to Rome even before Christmas, had reported upon the Council in many audiences, and had begged for its confirmation. The Pope held another consistory on December 30th, at which, in a long speech, he first gave thanks for the Council to God, the Emperor, and the princes, and praised the legates and fathers of the Council. He also expressed his thanks to the fathers because they had, in their reform decrees, shown such moderation and consideration for the Curia. He would have

proceeded with much greater strictness himself, had he taken the work of reform into his own hands. It was his fixed intention to confirm the reform prescriptions of the Council, and to have them strictly enforced. The unfounded belief of many persons that he was not in earnest about the carrying out of the reform would thus be disproved by the facts. It was his intention to make alterations only where the fathers had been too timid, but not so as to relax discipline in any way. He then entrusted Cardinal Morone with the task of watching over the consistory, so that nothing might be proposed there which was foreign to the spirit of the Council or opposed to it. Cardinal Simonetta was to act in a like manner in the case of the Dataria. The Pope was determined to have the reform decrees of the Council carried out absolutely; should, in any special case, a dispensation be necessary, it was his intention to grant it only on the advice of the Cardinals. At the end of his speech the Pope again insisted on the importance of the duty of residence, to which he would not make any exception, even for his own personal service. He then appointed two commissions of Cardinals: the one to prepare the confirmation of the Council, and to consider the best means of carrying it out, that is to say, to arrive at a decision as to the time and manner of the confirmation, while the other, which was to consist of the senior Cardinal Bishop, the senior Cardinal Priest, and the senior Cardinal Deacon, was to discharge the duty, in conjunction with those presenting the candidate in each case, of examining the worthiness of those proposed for bishoprics. Shortly afterwards the Pope celebrated the anniversary of his election and coronation by a banquet given to the whole senate of the Church. Many of the Cardinals looked upon this joyful occasion as a favourable opportunity of obtaining marks of favour; Pius IV, however, refused all such requests, and protested once more that he would confirm the whole of the decrees of the Council, and would see that they were observed. The official world of Rome was in despair at such pronouncements, and was of opinion that a wholesale departure of the prelates would follow, and that Rome would be left half empty.

Pius IV had, by these repeated public declarations, practically pledged himself to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and any possible objections made by the discontented members of the Curia could have little effect to the contrary. After the congregation of Cardinals had completed its work, it was possible to proceed to the final act of the Council. All the Cardinals advised an unconditional confirmation at the consistory of January 26th, 1564, Cicada and Ghislieri alone finding a difficulty in the decision of the Council that bishops were to be able to absolve in matters of conscience which were reserved to the Pope. This objection, however, had already been invalidated by the congregation of Cardinals. No one adopted the view put forward, for political reasons, by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, that they ought first to await the concurrence of the unrepresented powers. Pius IV, as well as all the other Cardinals, rejected this proposal, because the papal confirmation must precede everything else. Morone, in whom, as Borromeo pertinently remarked, the whole history of the Council of Trent was personified, defended this view in a long speech. In conjunction with Simonetta he begged for the confirmation of all the decisions which had been arrived at in Trent since Paul III. The Pope acceded to this request and promised to draw up a document to that effect; he was, he added, prepared to encounter many difficulties in carrying out those decisions, but he was also resolved to surmount them. He then returned once more to the duty of residence of the

bishops, and declared that he agreed to the limitation of appeals which the Council had ordered.

In spite of the repeated assurances of the Pope, the fear that he would nevertheless very soon dispense from the reform decrees, was not at once allayed. How deeply Pius IV was convinced of the importance of the Council is also evident from the fact that immediately after its close, at the latest in January, 1564, he proposed having the documents concerning the proceedings of the synod printed. As early as the year 1548, the then legate of the Council, Cervini, had formed the plan of issuing such a publication, which would, in his opinion, afford a means of following the course of the deliberations, and of proving the care with which the fathers had proceeded. Later, however, the views of those who feared that more harm than good would come from such a step, prevailed, although during the first months after the Council the plan of issuing such a publication was considered so certain that in the earliest Roman editions of the decrees of the Council, the printer, Paulus Manutius, announced in the preface<sup>1</sup> that the publication of the documents was imminent.

The official printed edition of the Tridentine decrees appeared in March, 1564. It contains an official statement of the oral papal confirmation of January 26th. The promised bull of confirmation, which, in view of this oral confirmation, was no longer really necessary, was, during the months that followed, so slow in making its appearance, that many people believed that it would never be issued. Everything was done by certain officials of the Curia to prevent its publication; it was represented to the Pope that an unconditional confirmation of the Council would affect the revenues of the Apostolic Camera in the most disastrous manner, and would mean the simple ruin of the Papal Court. The fear aroused by the oral confirmation of January 26th, which, however, could still be limited by the bull, was already great enough. Two-thirds of the Court, it was calculated, would now, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence, leave Rome, and with them would depart the splendour and luxury of the city, for good or for evil.

In spite of this, however, the promised bull appeared on June 30th, with the date of the oral confirmation, January 26th, 1564. After an historical introduction on the Council of Trent, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that, in virtue of the Papal concession, the Council had been able to decide with absolute freedom upon matters reserved to the Holy See, the confirmation of the Council follows, together with a call upon the bishops and princes to carry out the decrees issued, and to support this work by the secular power. Two important decisions then followed: It is forbidden to print commentaries and notes concerning the decrees of the Council without permission from the Holy See, while in case of doubt as to the interpretation of any decree, application must be made to the Holy See, to which is reserved the decision of all such difficulties.

These two regulations concerning the exclusive right of interpretation by the Holy See, were the outcome of exhaustive deliberations, and were in reality the principal cause of the long delay in the appearance of the bull. There was an obvious danger that the reform decrees might be differently understood in various countries and by various tribunals, and that confusion and uncertainty might in consequence arise. This danger was avoided by the right of interpretation being reserved to the Holy See. The Council had already

acknowledged the primacy of the Apostolic See by its decision that the decrees should only be valid when without prejudice to the Papal rights. The Gallican party, however, the existence of which the proceedings at the Council had lately made evident, was able to maintain that the Pope had exercised the rights reserved to him by the Council by his very act of confirmation, and that he could in consequence no longer alter anything in the decrees, but was, on the contrary, himself subject to them. This second danger was met by the clear declaration that the interpretation of the decrees was to be for all future time in the hands of the Pope. A further reason for the delay in the publication of the bull was to be found in the opposition to the unconditional confirmation of the Council, which, it would appear, was not yet silenced.

It was to be expected that an immense number of questions concerning the Tridentine reform decrees would reach Rome as soon as these decisions became known. Pius IV therefore commissioned the eight Cardinals to whom he had entrusted the task of preparing the confirmation and enforcement of the Council, to see that the decrees were exactly observed. The same Cardinals were also to put into force the former reform prescriptions affecting the Penitentiaria and the various Roman tribunals, which had not been sufficiently obeyed. In cases of doubt, however, the eight Cardinals were not to decide of themselves but were to refer the matter to the Pope. Pius IV soon increased the number of this commission of Cardinals to twelve, and appointed as secretary the celebrated latinist, Giulio Pogiani, whose skilful pen clothed a great number of the decisions in classical garb. Later on the power of this commission was greatly extended, so that it developed into the Congregation which became so important for the interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Only the reform decrees fell within the competency of the Congregation of the Council, not the dogmatic decisions. The Council itself had endeavoured to secure submission to these by its regulation that all those who took part in a provincial synod, the bishop at their head, must solemnly accept the Council, promise obedience to the Pope, and openly reject all heresies, especially those condemned at Trent. Besides this, all those who, for the future, should be chosen for the episcopate, were to submit their profession of faith to the Pope, while all those who received an appointment involving the cure of souls were to make a profession of faith and take an oath of obedience to the Roman Church. The Council had not drawn up a formula for the profession of faith, although the draft of one had been submitted to it. Pius IV completed the work of the Council in this respect, by the bull of November 13th, 1564; at the same time he extended the obligation of making a profession of faith and taking an oath of obedience to the superiors of Orders, while in another constitution, issued at the same time, he laid the same obligation on professors in universities, and on doctors taking their degree. In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries the Tridentine profession of faith was extended still further.

The Council had not been able to complete some of its labours, such as the revision of the Index of prohibited books, the publication of a catechism, and the reform of the more important liturgical books, and it had accordingly, in its last session, committed the carrying out of these tasks to the care of the Apostolic See.



Of these tasks, that which was the most advanced was the preparation of the revised Index Paul IV had already learned by experience that he could not, even in Italy, be successful in carrying into effect his excessively rigorous prohibition of books. As early as 1559 the editions of his Index contain the beginnings of a mitigation of the strictest ordinances, and Cardinal Otto Truchsess, who complained of the crushing severity of the prohibitions, received a reassuring reply. The complaints against the Index of his predecessor continued under Pius IV; the Pope, indeed, had already determined, immediately after his accession, not to withhold from public use such books by heretical writers as dealt with indifferent questions under the guise of religion. He expressed himself in this sense to Lainez in March, 1560, and the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, also granted similar full powers, and in this way the work upon the revision of the Index was begun. At the beginning of the following year Lainez was able to put forward the proposal that anything which went beyond the general ordinances of the canon law should be removed from the existing Index, on the ground that such prohibitions were a snare for many souls and were of advantage to only a very few people. These suggestions met with much approval in a Congregation of Cardinals and learned men, and on January 24th, 1561, Seripando was instructed to devote himself to the work of revising the Index. During February and March conferences were held upon the subject and on March 16th the decision was arrived at in a secret consistory to put the modifications into force. On May 17th Borromeo was able to hold out to the legates of the Council at Trent the prospect of the speedy appearance of the revised Index; the new list was to be drawn up in such a manner that the public could not reasonably find anything to object to in it. At the same time an endeavour was made to put a stop to the flood of Protestant writings by the setting up of a printing press in Rome, which was entrusted to Paulus Manutius. Cardinals Scotti, Vitelli, Mula and Morone were charged to make it their business to promote this new undertaking.

The hope of the early publication of the revised Index was not realized, but in its place there was issued on June 14th, 1561, an order from the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, which anticipated several of the modifications of the later Tridentine Index. After the reassembling of the Council, the whole matter was referred to the synod by the brief of January 14th, 1562.

At that moment those assembled at Trent were keenly discussing the question whether the synod, which was about to be opened, was to be looked upon as a continuation of the former Council or not. A subject of discussion, therefore, such as the Index, which had no connection whatever with this question, was very welcome to the legates of the Council. It soon became evident, however, that the condemnation of Protestant books would have just as great an effect in keeping the innovators away from Trent as the announcement that the former Council, which was so detested by the Protestants, was to be continued. It was hoped to avoid this difficulty by setting the work on the Index on foot immediately, but deferring the declaration of the result until the close of the Council. The further objection, that a Council could not correct the work of a Pope, was easily dealt with by the fact that the Pope had himself ordered the revision of the Roman Index. A Papal brief containing this order was issued on January 14th, 1562, and was read aloud in the general con-gregation of January 30th.

In view of the excitement which the severe condemnation of books by Paul IV had aroused, a speedy decision by the Council on the question of the Index could not fail to have a salutary effect. A decree was therefore prepared immediately after the opening of the Council, to be presented at the next Session; this, however, only announced the resolution that a commission of the members of the Council should confer on the subject of the existing Index, and upon suspected books. All those whom it concerned were invited to submit their observations on the subject with full confidence to the Council. On January 27th, the legates laid the matter of the Index before the fathers as the principal subject for discussion. The Council decided by an overwhelming majority, in five general congregations, that a new Index should be drawn up, and the list of Paul IV. revised. A commission, appointed on February 12th, submitted on the 17th the draft of a decree, which led men to expect a revision. After most careful deliberation, in three further congregations, the new decree was drawn up in the form in which it was, with a few subsequent alterations, made public at the solemn session of February 26th, the XVIIIth of the Council, and the second under Pius IV.

The commission for the revision of the Index was appointed on February 17th, even before the publication of the decree. It was composed of six archbishops, nine bishops, one Benedictine abbot, and the Generals of the Observants and the Augustinians. The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von Müglitz, acted as a kind of president at the discussions, which were held at his house. Every possible care was taken that all the churches which were represented at the Council should have a seat and vote on the commission. At the request; of the legates, the Grand Inquisitor sent to the seat of the Council all the documents which could throw light on the Index of Paul IV, for the use of the commission. By a brief of February 7th, 1563, the Pope extended the powers of the commission by granting it permission to examine and form a judgment upon books which were not included in the Index of Paul IV.

The invitation of the XVIIIth session, to submit claims and requests to the commission of the Index, was responded to from various quarters. The answers given at Trent clearly prove the endeavour to show all possible clemency. In July, 1563, the mild sentence passed on the much-discussed Catechism of Archbishop Carranza of Toledo even led to serious complaints on the part of the Spanish ambassador, and consequently to dissensions in the commission itself. The fathers were most anxious to form their opinion from knowledge drawn from the books themselves, and not from the testimony of others. In the course of the year 1562, the Jesuit, Nadal, purchased heretical books for the Council at Antwerp, and in December of the same year a memorial from the fathers charged with the censorship of books, complained of the want of the necessary volumes, as they did not wish to give an opinion concerning things which they had not personally investigated. Borromeo therefore charged the legates to have the desired books purchased at the expense of the Holy See, either in Venice or Germany. Many people were even of opinion that the fathers of the Council read too many prohibited books.

As the result of these investigations it became more and more evident how much the list of Paul IV was in need of revision. It had been discovered, writes Archbishop Anton Brus, that "several pious and learned persons" had been

unjustly “not a little burdened” by the Roman Index; several of them have already been “liberated.” Further “liberations” followed. The writings of Erasmus, which Archbishop Brus would have preferred to license in their entirety, gave the commission much trouble. Many difficulties were also caused by consideration for Philip II of Spain, who did not wish that certain books, which were forbidden by the Spanish Inquisition, should be omitted from the Roman Index.

After the close of the Council, the results of this great labour, the so-called Tridentine Index, were once more examined in Rome by a deputation of four members, and were then published by a Papal brief of March 24th, 1564. While the Index of Paul IV contained substantially only a list of prohibited books and writers, the Tridentine Index consists of two divisions, the so-called ten rules, and the list of writings. At the beginning there is the brief of confirmation of Pius IV, and a preface composed by the secretary of the commission, Fureiro.

The inclusion of the rules is a very important change. It had been realized that it would be quite impossible to enumerate and prohibit all the writings against the Church which had already appeared or would appear in the future. It is expressly stated in the preface that it would have been possible to include many other names in the list of those whose works are prohibited in their entirety, but that it had not been the intention or the function of the Council to seek all these out. They had been satisfied with the list of Paul IV, and left its completion to the bishops and inquisitors.

The rules of the Tridentine Index are intended to supplement the list of condemned books by means of a general and comprehensive prohibition, but at the same time they show a very considerable mitigation of the legislation concerning books. The list of Paul IV, it is stated in the preface by Fureiro, had in many places not been accepted, because scholars could not, without great difficulty, do without many of the books which it condemned; besides this, many things in that list required explanation. The rules of the Tridentine Index provided for both these cases. The books of the actual propagators of heresy (heresiarchs), indeed, were condemned now as they had been before, but the writings of other heretics which did not treat of religion, were, under certain conditions, permitted. Bibles and controversial writings in the vernacular were not allowed to all indiscriminately, but only, with episcopal permission, to such as would derive benefit from such books. As far as books of a lascivious nature were concerned, all actually obscene literature was unconditionally forbidden; certain works of the ancient classics, which were regarded as models of style, could not at any rate be placed in the hands of young people. Finally, books on divination were forbidden. Only the reading and keeping of heretical books was punished by excommunication, and all books must be submitted to censorship before publication.

As far as the second part of the new Index, the list of prohibited books, is concerned, the fathers “after long deliberation, thought it best to keep to the earlier list which had recently been compiled by the Inquisition, with a few exceptions and additions.” Even here, however, the severity of Paul IV was considerably mitigated. In the first place Pius IV set aside both of the appendixes in which his predecessor had condemned a number of editions of the Bible, and had named numerous printers, the whole of whose output he had forbidden. In

addition to these changes, not a few errors and obscure passages were removed. The three classes, however, which Paul IV had distinguished, were retained in the new Index: the list of heretics, all of whose writings were held to be forbidden; pernicious books, both by Catholic and non-Catholic authors, whose names were known; and those whose authors were unknown.

The commission of the Index, however, removed many names from the first to the second class, especially that of Erasmus. Even in the case of writers in the first class, it is no longer stated that they are open heretics, but only that they are either heretics or suspected of heresy. The inclusion of an author in the first class does not therefore declare him to be a heretic without further steps being taken. It signified, too, an important change that many books were not unconditionally condemned, but only pending their emendation, as for instance, Gelli and Boccaccio, on behalf of whom intercession had been made before the commission of the Index.

After the publication of the new Index, the Pope, on August 27th, 1564, gave the Cardinals the two-fold permission to read forbidden books themselves, and to allow others to read them. A decree of the Inquisition had already endeavoured to prevent heretical books from being smuggled into Rome and sold there.

Like the new Index, the Roman Catechism was, in no small degree, the work of the fathers of the Council of Trent.

A complaint had been made in the general congregation of April 5th, 1546, of the abuse by which, for the sake of the study of the profane sciences and of useless scholastic questions, the Sacred Scriptures were passed over, with the result that Christian people were less well instructed in Christian doctrine than in anything else, and that neither parents nor teachers were able to instruct young people in the Christian rule of life. In order to pave the way to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, the Council was begged to compile a concise introductory manual, which, avoiding long disputations, should simply and faithfully comprise the principal points of Christian doctrine, and which would afford the students of various countries a text-book and introduction to the Sacred Scriptures. At the same time a catechism for the instruction of children and the illiterate should be published both in Latin and in the vernacular.

Both these suggestions were unanimously adopted. Only a few maintained that it was unnecessary to draw up a manual of the kind suggested as similar works had already been provided by Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Cyprian and Erasmus. The Council expressed no further views on this point, and in the reform decree of the fifth Session no decision was arrived at, regarding either the manual or the catechism, probably because the Council did not wish to refer to matters which were not yet in existence. In the meantime the question remained in abeyance, and the broken threads were only again taken up in the third period of the Council.

In the interval the Emperor, Ferdinand I, took up the matter of the catechism. In the year 1551 he requested the University of Vienna and the Jesuits to carry out these two plans, which the Council had sanctioned but never carried into effect: the compilation of a catechism and of a manual of theology. It is due to Ferdinand that the "Imperial" catechism was compiled by Canisius, and it is

also to his continued requests for a manual of theology that we owe the celebrated text-book for the use of parish priests which, under the title of “Catechism of the Council of Trent” or the “Roman Catechism,” has gone through edition after edition, and is of great importance in the Church even to the present day. When the Emperor, in 1562, appointed the Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus von Mùglitz, and Count Sigismund von Thun as his envoys at the Council, by the advice of his chancellor, Seld, on October 20th, 1561, he charged them to see that a catechism was drawn up. In the instructions given to the envoys it is stated that they are to insist that a compendium of Christian doctrine shall be published by the Council itself, either in a detailed or a concise form, or in both, in accordance with which doctors, parish priests, preachers, professors and schoolmasters in Catholic districts can regulate their teaching.

Archbishop Brus had an opportunity for the first time of going into the matter at the Tridentine commission of the Index. In the lists of Paul IV the prohibition of catechisms had been so general that it might almost be thought that all the existing catechisms were condemned. Therefore, as Brus wrote to the Emperor on April 28th, 1562, the commission of the Index determined to request the Council to draw up a reliable and authoritative compendium of Catholic doctrine. All other catechisms were then to be prohibited, with the exception of that of Canisius, the contents of which could, for the most part, be incorporated in the new Tridentine catechism.<sup>1</sup> In the celebrated reform libellum of the Emperor Ferdinand similar demands were made by the Imperial envoys; the new manual, it is here stated, must specially deal with the disputed doctrines, and, out of consideration for uneducated parish priests, must be expressed in clear terms and in a popular style; the book must be issued in the name of the Council, the Emperor and the princes, and it must be made incumbent on all parish priests, whether Catholic or not, not to deviate in any point from its teaching. One of the many catechisms by Catholic authors should be chosen and introduced as part of the educational equipment in schools for the young. The King of France, in a memorial which he caused to be handed to the Council of Trent by his envoys on January 3rd, 1563, identified himself with the desire for a catechism expressed by Ferdinand.

At the beginning of March, 1563, a deputation on the question of the catechism was already at work. Seripando, shortly before his death (March 17th, 1563) distributed the various headings of the catechism to the theologians for consideration, and at the end of July the Council was urging the speedy compilation of the catechism. The Pope, as Mendosa, the Bishop of Salamanca, wrote at the time, wished for it, everyone was asking for it, and it was a very important thing for Christendom. The different parts of the proposed text-book were again given to the theologians. Spaniards were selected for the treatment of the profession of faith; it would appear, Mendoza remarks with joyful pride in this connection, that it was his nation to whom the faith could be safely entrusted. The task of explaining the Lord’s Prayer was entrusted to doctors from Louvain and France.<sup>1</sup> A list of September 9th gives the names of the theologians to whom the treatment of the Ten Commandments and the Sacraments were to be entrusted. Two catechisms were in contemplation, a larger one for teachers and a smaller one for the pupils.

In spite, however, of all these appointments, the work had hardly advanced at all at the end of four months, and it was therefore, at the end of October, handed over to four other theologians, among whom mention may be made in the first place of the Archbishop of Zara, Muzio Calini. To the future Cardinal Paleotto was entrusted the task of producing, from the drafts of the theologians, a homogeneous and polished work.

After the dissolution of the Council the work upon the catechism was looked upon in Rome as having only been begun. Archbishops Muzio Calini of Zara, and Lionardo Marini of Lanciano, together with the Bishop of Modena, Egidio Foscarari, were given the task of completing it. Borromeo's zeal in the matter can be seen from many remarks in his letters. The principal assistant of the bishops was the Portuguese Dominican, Francisco Fureiro, who had already distinguished himself at the Council; he was then brought to Rome, where he enjoyed the special friendship of Borromeo. Marini and Foscarari were also Dominicans, to which Order the principal credit for the Roman catechism must be ascribed.

What the theologians had drafted was finally given to the most distinguished humanist of his times, Giulio Pogiani, that he might perfect it as far as the language was concerned. The celebrated stylist devoted the whole of his time during the last four months of the year 1564 to this honourable task, and it is due to him that the catechism may be described, even as to its style, as a classical work. In other respects as well, ecclesiastical literature was quick to make use of the achievements of humanism. The decrees of the Council of Trent are written in a Latin which, for the purpose, one could not wish improved. The theologians of the new scholasticism, such as Melchior Cano, Canisius and their successors, attached no small importance to a good Latin style. The surprising fact therefore emerges that a tendency, which appeared for a long time to be given up to the worship of pagan ideals, and which had not otherwise succeeded in creating any enduring works, now at last, in the service of the Church, exercised an influence which has outlived the ages.

On April 13th, 1565, Borromeo was able to write that, principally owing to the labours and skill of Fureiro, the catechism was at length nearly completed. The hope, however, that he had expressed even at the beginning of the year, that the book would be printed in a few days, was not to be realized during the reign of Pius IV.

The same bishops who had been entrusted with the completion of the Index and the Catechism, had also, for the greater part, the task of reforming the Breviary and the Missal.

After the holy sacrifice of the mass the only divine worship as such officially used by the Church was the prayer in choir which was distributed over the seven periods of the day, and consisted of the psalms and lessons taken from the Sacred Scriptures, from the Fathers of the Church, and, on the feasts of the saints, from the story of their lives. This prayer of the canonical hours was also much used and valued by the faithful; the alteration of the breviary, which is the basis of the prayer in choir, was followed by serious disturbances in Saragossa. It can therefore easily be understood that even the secular princes, in their proposals

for reform at the Council, should have taken prayer in choir and the breviary into consideration. In his ordinance for reform on July 14th, 1548, Charles V issued prescriptions as to the prayer of the canonical hours on the ground that in the course of time much that was unsuitable and apocryphal had crept in; the bishops should therefore remove these defects by the help of learned and pious men. Ferdinand I renewed these complaints in his reform libellum of 1562, while at the same time he drew attention to another abuse, namely the excessive length of the breviary. In order to reach the end the clergy in choir hurried on the prayers to such an extent that one side could not understand the other, and the people in consequence despised divine worship, which feeling was also extended to the sermons. The breviary, missal, and other liturgical books must be examined and revised. The legates replied to these demands by saying that the reform of the missal and breviary would be entrusted to the fathers who were engaged upon the Index, but that neither the laity nor the clergy could make any complaint concerning the length of the breviary; not the laity, because it was not necessary for them to take part in the prayer in choir, nor the clergy, because it was precisely for divine worship that they were there.

As far as the Church was concerned, already for some time past, Leo X and several provincial synods had intended to give a new form to the canonical hours, while Clement VII had encouraged attempts at reform of the most various kinds. Zaccaria Ferreri, who had wished to see classical Latin introduced into the breviary, Gian Pietro Carafa and the Theatines, with their strictly ecclesiastical ideas for a revival, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Francisco Quinones, who had greatly curtailed the prayer in choir, and in other respects as well had broken through the bounds which had been so strictly observed for a thousand years, all these had met with help and encouragement from the Pope.

Only the so-called Santa Croce breviary, issued by Quinones in 1535, had had an important, if temporary, influence. According to a declaration of Paul III, only the clergy who were very much occupied had the Papal dispensation to use this breviary, but soon afterwards several theologians declared that a special dispensation from the Pope was unnecessary, and many had availed themselves of this opinion. In forty years the work of Quinones had gone through about a hundred editions, and in many places, as for example, several churches in Spain, had even come into common use by the faithful for prayer in choir.

The Santa Croce breviary, however, did not fail to find many enemies. In 1551, the Spaniard, Juan ab Arce, addressed to the Council of Trent a memorial against the innovations of Quinones. After the third opening of the Council, in 1562, the Bishop of Huesca, Pedro Agustin, and all the bishops of Aragon, renewed their complaints to the Pope and the Council concerning the abuses to which the new breviary had given rise, and begged that the old Roman breviary, with the alterations planned by Paul IV, might be introduced throughout the whole Church.

After Gian Pietro Carafa had received permission in 1524 and 1529 to draw up a new breviary and to test it in the Theatine Order, he had devoted himself zealously to this task, without, however, being able to obtain its approval from the irresolute Medici Pope. After Carafa had ascended the Papal throne as Paul IV, he again took up the work, together with the Theatine Cardinal Scotti and his

confessor, Isachino, in collaboration with the future Cardinal Sirleto. Although it was not yet quite completed, the breviary of Paul IV was adopted after his death by the Theatines in 1561, and soon afterwards was made the basis of the new arrangement of the canonical hours by the Council of Trent. The Carafa Pope had forbidden any further dispensations for the use of the Santa Croce breviary in 1558. On the strength of the memorial of the bishops of Aragon, the legates of the Council also sent the draft of a decree against the changes of Quinones to Rome on November 23rd, 1562.

Some six months were to elapse, however, before the reform of the breviary and missal was seriously undertaken at Trent. The first step was taken when the legates, on June 24th, 1563, asked to have the preliminary work of Paul IV on the breviary, then in the hands of Cardinal Scotti, and the work of Alessandro Pellegrini on the missal, sent to them from Rome for examination. The so-called missal of Gregory the Great, which Cardinal Guise had seen in the Vatican Library, was also conveyed to Trent, carefully packed, at the end of October. About the same time a deputation was finally appointed for the reform of the breviary and missal, but it soon became clear that the deputation would not be able to bring its task to a completion before the close of the Council.

Just as hitherto the revision of the liturgical books had, for the most part, gone hand in hand with the work in connection with the catechism, so, both before and after the close of the Council, the completion of both these tasks was entrusted to the same bishops, namely Calini, Marini and Foscarari. In Rome the Pope gave them several assistants, among whom Sirleto and some members of the Theatine Order may be mentioned.

The commission based their labours on the principle that it was not a question of providing anything new, but only of restoring the ancient prayer book of the Church to its original purity. They accordingly went back to the oldest breviaries attainable. The greatest alterations occurred in the case of the lives of the saints, into which much that was unsuitable and apocryphal had crept. The task of giving to the revised lives a suitable literary form again fell to the lot of the celebrated Giulio Pogiani.

On June 3rd, 1564, Borromeo wrote to Delfino that great pains were being taken to complete the breviary and missal, but at the death of Pius IV the printing of the two books had not yet been begun.

Paulus Manutius was summoned to Rome in 1561 to prepare correct editions of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church. The IVth Session of the Council had already ordered that in future the Vulgate must be printed as exactly as possible, and it was obvious that only the Roman See was in a position to carry out such a task. This work was also taken in hand under Pius IV, but it would seem that it had made but little progress.

A new edition of the Fathers of the Church, especially the Greek Fathers, appeared to many people to be a necessity, as the text hitherto in use was looked upon as having been falsified by the heretics. Charles Borromeo, by the Pope's orders, turned his attention to this matter as well. He endeavoured to obtain the services of the able Portuguese philologist, Achilles Stazio, for this undertaking, and he encouraged the Archbishop of Corfu, who had sent some Greek codices to



Rome, to search for unpublished works, assigning to him for this purpose a sum of money and a monthly stipend. The time had not arrived, however, for such an extensive undertaking; there was not a sufficiently clear appreciation of the difficulties and requirements of such a task, nor any very clear idea of the principles of textual criticism; above all, there was, for the moment, a lack of trained experts.

In the event it was necessary to wait until the end of the century before the world saw the completion of even those undertakings which the Council had originally intended to accomplish itself, but which, under the force of circumstances, it had been compelled to hand over to the Holy See. Several of the undertakings which had been put forward by the Imperial envoys, such as the popular catechism, and the book of sermons for the use of parish priests, were later on left, both by the Council and the Pope, to the zeal and enterprise of private individuals. As a matter of fact it could not fall within the sphere of a Council's work to carry everything into effect, or to provide for everything itself down to the smallest details. The work of the Council was to trace the broad fundamental lines upon which the Church was once again to renew herself. In the fact that the Council of Trent discharged this duty in so eminent a degree lies its "epoch-making importance in the history of the world."

CHAPTER XIII.

Church Music.—Palestrina.

The Fathers of the Council were fully conscious of its duty and its dignity. The same thing came out clearly in the course of a discussion which has attained to a certain celebrity owing to the legendary development given to it at a later period. While it was conferring on the manner in which the holy sacrifice of the mass should be celebrated, attention was naturally drawn to the question of church music. Several of the fathers of the Council were of opinion that music should be entirely excluded from divine worship, but this view did not find favour with the majority; the Spaniards especially urged the very ancient custom of the Church in favour of the existing practice, and pointed out the assistance that a dignified chant could render to piety. It was only necessary that anything voluptuous or profane should be kept out of the Church, while all possible care must be taken that the words of the liturgy did not become unintelligible. A decree was therefore drawn up and submitted in this sense, which insisted upon these two points, namely, the exclusion of anything profane, and the necessity for intelligibility, as to which many special ordinances were proposed. Together with many other proposals for reform, the Council referred the care of church music to the bishops; in its decree upon the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, it contented itself with admonishing the bishops to be careful to exclude anything frivolous or unclean.

Many complaints had been made concerning church music even before the time of the Council. Bishop Johannes Roth of Breslau (1482-1506) had wished frankly to banish figured music, which he described as “cantus crispus,” from the Church. As in the draft laid before the Council of Trent, the complaints centred round these two points, that the words were rendered unintelligible by the music, and that the sacred and the profane were mixed up together.

The meaning of these two complaints may be gathered from the historical development of church music. At the time of the Council of Trent the prevailing form of music was not that which is usual today, namely, the so-called monodic form, in which one voice alone takes up the melody, and the other voices have only to sing the harmonies which accompany it. The older form of singing for several voices was the so-called polyphonic style, in which all the voices are of equal importance, each one singing its own melody, and only, as it were, incidentally and by accident, harmonizing with the others.

This polyphonic or contrapuntal church music was a development from the old ecclesiastical Gregorian chant. One of the singers, the so-called “holder” of the melody (tenor) rendered the ancient chant of the Church, while round this the other voices moved in their own melodies. Before long composers began to

combine with the well-known ecclesiastical melody, a second one, already existing, and also well known; thus two well-known melodies were now being sung at the same time, while round these the remaining voices provided an artistic accompaniment of rising and falling scales. This counter-melody, which was thus combined with the chant, was very often taken from the chant itself, but was just as frequently drawn from among the popular songs of the day.

As a matter of fact, this mixture of the sacred and profane was by no means so offensive as, at first glance, it might appear. It must not be supposed that the words of the popular song were also sung. The notes of the popular air were so long drawn out, and the melody so broken, shortened, and altered in rhythm, as to become almost unrecognizable. Through the polyphonic musical texture, only long drawn out notes were audible, which provided the foundation of the melody, the secular air "being as it were, only the wire intended to hold together the flowers round which it was wound, without being itself visible." Often the composer took from some secular song nothing but the motif, out of which he developed his *Kyrie* or *Gloria*, though even then, as an authority puts it, in such a composition the secular melody was "everywhere and nowhere; everywhere, in that it permeates the music at every point, and nowhere, in that it scarcely appears definitely or in its original form at any point, except, at the most, occasionally in the tenor, when it again immediately disappears in the runs and waves of the counterpoint which envelopes it."

Nevertheless the practice had its dangerous side. When Jean de Richafort, in a Requiem, caused to be sung among the words of the ecclesiastical text, the words from the Psalms: "The sighs of death surround me," and when, in the midst of the Latin text of the liturgy, the two tenors, with ever-increasing anguish, exclaim to each other : *c'est douleur non pareille*, this violent intrusion of the deepest personal grief into the solemnity of the funeral rites of the Church may have been very affecting, but the hearer must have found it difficult to avoid receiving a false impression when he remembered that in the popular song from which it was drawn this *douleur non pareille* was occasioned by the emptiness of the purse. It was already a scandal when people began to distinguish the different Masses by the popular songs on which they were based, and even named them by the first words of some well-known song.

Richafort's Requiem also furnishes an example of another peculiarity of the music of that time, that of singing different words simultaneously, and thus rendering it almost impossible for the hearer to understand anything that was said. In a Mass of the great Jakob Obrecht, a prayer to St. Donatian is mixed up with the Agnus Dei. Matteo Pipelare caused the whole story of the life of St. Livinus to be sung at the same time as the Mass. The genial but fantastic Nicholas Gombert wrote a much admired motet entitled *Diversi diversa orant*, in which four different voices actually sang four different antiphons to Our Lady at the same time. Such things are frequently to be found in church music before the time of the Council of Trent.

There were undoubtedly excrescences and artificialities, but the music of the time was very full of both apparent and real artifices in the combination of several voices; these constitute a necessary transition stage in the development of polyphonic music, which represents an enormous advance upon classic antiquity,

and is one of the most splendid achievements of the middle ages. The architecture which produced the Gothic cathedral has been described as frozen music, and indeed, as far as the strict coordination of measure and number is concerned, no other art is so closely akin to architecture as the one which has to build up its masterpieces out of variable and scattered notes. So it came to pass that number and measure, theory, and dry and rigid rules played an eminently fitting part in the evolution of music. The first compositions for several voices are rather sums in arithmetic than works of art, and for a long time to come music retained this character of being the production of the reasoning faculties, and of delight in making captious experiment. Men aimed at the impossible in the matter of the combination of voices, and we read of compositions for 24 and even for 36 voices. By preference they cultivated the most difficult of the contrapuntal forms, the so-called "canon," in which all the different voices successively render the same melody, but the later voice commences the melody before the preceding one has finished it, so that the different parts are being performed simultaneously, and have each in their turn to be harmonized with the others. A "fantastic touch" is to be found in this music, and in every part of it, which reveals itself in strange refinements of composition. During the XVth century there are to be found in the compositions of the Netherland school "not a few pieces which are frankly impossible, but which, nevertheless, have a characteristic attractiveness, problems of musical composition which even a choir of trained singers could hardly have been able to perform, because music had arrived at the point of exploring the utmost limits of its kingdom by searching experiments, sometimes very daring, so as to take the measure of its own strength by setting before itself the hardest problems." The matter was still further complicated by singers who were skilled in their art adding, even in the case of difficult compositions, further flourishes and ornamentations of their own.

It must not be supposed, however, that music before the time of Palestrina succeeded in producing nothing but artificial compositions, and no works of art. Little by little there arose masters who, while completely mastering the greatest technical difficulties, were able to infuse real warmth of feeling and spiritual expression into their compositions. After the first unwieldy attempts in Scandinavia and England, and later in France, the Netherlands became the home of music. The first great master arose in the person of Guillaume Dufay of Hainault (died 1474), who had been a canon of Cambrai since 1436. He was the first whose work showed real style; deep warmth of feeling and a pure sense of beauty are expressed in them in a most attractive way, and through nearly all of them there runs the expression of a wonderfully tender melancholy and a graceful piety. Dufay's most able pupils were Binchois, also a priest of Hainault, and above all, Busnois, whose works show a considerable advance on those of Dufay. While the earlier music went no further than to "envelope in harmony" a given melody, say from the Gregorian chant, it now begins to stand on its own feet and to follow out its own aspirations.

A second Netherland school began with Johann Okeghem, who died, when almost a hundred years old, in 1512. He probably was a native of East Flanders, and had been a singer in the chapel of Charles VII and Louis XI, and later became treasurer of the capitular church of St. Martin, at Tours. Okeghem was master of the canon and all other musical artifices to an astonishing degree, but he also knew how to impart to his music "the singing soul," and we find in him "whole

periods of the most wonderful melodic treatment, and an extraordinary gracefulness and fervour of expression." A funeral cantata at the time of his death speaks of him as the prince of music, and there is no doubt that he exercised a very great influence on the later development of harmony. Jakob Obrecht (d. 1507) may be looked upon as his disciple, but it was principally through Josquin de Pres that Okeghem's style was spread in Italy, France, and even Germany, where the great composers, Heinrich Isaak and Ludwig Senfl were his followers. Josquin himself must be counted among "the greatest musical geniuses of all time." A master of all the subtleties and artifices of composition, it was he who "with a strong hand, broke through the thorny thickets the way which led to a more moderate form of art." Notwithstanding the constraints which the fixed forms of the day imposed on him, his works express a "deep, pure feeling, which is capable of exciting the deepest emotion"; he frees himself more and more from the many imperfections of his earlier works, until he at last succeeds in creating "works of pure gold, which stand on the very pinnacle of artistic perfection." Josquin was born in 1445 in Hainault, probably at Condé, where he died in 1521. He belonged to the Papal choir under Sixtus IV, and in 1480 was already a celebrated master at the court of Louis XI of France, with whom he was on very intimate terms.

The music of the Netherlands gained a worldwide reputation owing to all these celebrated composers, and every important princely court sought to obtain their services for their chapels. They made their way to Vienna in 1498, and Philip the Fair took them with him to Spain, where the chapel of Valladolid was one of the most celebrated in the world. About 1480 three distinguished Netherlanders taught music at the same time in Naples, and even Venice, which jealously took care that none but natives should hold the posts of organist and chapel-master, was persuaded in 1527 to invite Adrian Willaert there as a teacher of music.

It was, however, of much greater importance that the Netherlanders also took possession of the Papal choir in Rome. Their position at the French court had paved their way to the Papal court at Avignon, and when Gregory XI returned permanently to Rome in 1377, he took them with him, and they retained their position in the Papal choir until well on into the XVIth century. In the time of Dufay the list of the Papal singers contains only names which have a Flemish or French sound; Dufay himself, and later on Josquin, were for many years members of the Papal choir, the archives of which contain to this day a number of masses and motets by masters from the Netherlands.

The supremacy of the Netherlander singers in Italy was as beneficial to their own school of music as it was for that of Italy. It preserved the Italians from a premature attempt to revert, by quite unexplored ways, to classical antiquity in the field of music as in other directions. The age of the Renaissance, as far as music was concerned, only began in the XVIth century, and it then led to the creation of the modern or monodic style of composition, yet the Renaissance was not without its influence on the earlier practice of the art even in the XVIth century. It was undoubtedly of the greatest value to the genius of Dufay or Josquin that both of them should have been brought into contact, at Rome and Florence, with the culture of the Italy of those days. Netherland music only attained to the highest perfection of which it was capable when the Italians, with

their educated sense of beauty and their refined artistic temperament, adopted and made use of the achievements of their predecessors.

Even the greatest of the musicians of the XVIth century, Giovanni Pierluigi di Sante, commonly called Palestrina, from the place of his birth, can by no means be regarded as the creator of a completely new style of church music.

Probably born in 1525, he received his musical education in Rome, between 1540 and 1544, in the strict school of a Netherlander. As his works prove, he had studied the Flemish masters with great assiduity, and in his earlier works he followed closely in their footsteps. In a few cases he even did not disdain to write masses which were founded on secular melodies, and he is as expert in all the rules of counterpoint as any of the great Netherlanders. The thing, however, which especially distinguishes Palestrina from his predecessors is his extraordinarily refined sense of beauty. His melodies are "formed of pure gracefulness," he has discarded everything of the pedantry, affectation and want of spontaneity, which in various ways still adhered to the style of the great northern masters. In his hands the arrangements of the parts became more melodious and more full of life, and even under the constraint of the most complicated forms of counterpoint, he seems to move with supreme ease and freedom. His means of expression are in themselves very limited. He uses only four or six, or rarely eight male voices, which, for all their complexity, meet in but three pure harmonies. These voices, however, (which he occasionally divides into two choirs) he is able to group together in an exceedingly effective manner, so as to produce the most glorious effects. In this respect Palestrina, considered merely from the musical point of view, may be looked upon as "the last and most perfect flower of a development extending over centuries."

Palestrina placed his powers as a composer entirely at the service of the Church. In his music the ancient ecclesiastical chants appear in festal array, and for the most part he constructed his compositions out of motifs drawn from the Gregorian chant, and he develops his melodies upon the lines of that chant. The ease with which he composed enabled him to write 93 masses, motets for all the feasts of the year, and hymns for all the ecclesiastical seasons; his secular compositions, two volumes of madrigals, are hardly worthy of mention in comparison with these. A tone of the deepest religious fervour pervades all his ecclesiastical works, for Palestrina penetrated deeply into the meaning and feeling of the liturgical text, and knew how to give expression to it in the most affecting manner. Compositions such as his *Improperia* and *Stabat Mater* cannot be listened to without emotion by anyone who has any ear for music, and even composers, whose point of view is quite different in other ways, have never been able to conceal their admiration for Palestrina in this respect.

The great simplicity and depth of Palestrina's style may be looked upon as the realization of the reform of Church music desired by the Council of Trent. The credit of having prepared the way for the reformer, and therefore for the reform itself, must be given to Pope Julius III, once bishop of Palestrina's native place, who had himself a great understanding of music. It was probably he who, in 1551, summoned the youthful master from an unimportant position in the cathedral of his native place to be choir-master at St. Peter's in Rome. It was also through the influence of Julius III that, on January 13th, 1555, Palestrina was admitted into

the college of the singers of the Papal choir, from which he was, however, dismissed on the 30th of the following July by the strict Paul IV, on the ground that the Papal singers must be clerics, and Palestrina was a layman and married. He was next appointed choir-master of the Lateran, and afterwards of St. Mary Major. It was only in 1571 that he was again entrusted with the direction of the music at St. Peter's, which position he retained until his death in 1594.

In Rome Palestrina had an opportunity of getting into closer touch with those circles from which had sprung the movement for ecclesiastical reform. He says himself that he had laboured with all his powers in accordance with the advice of distinguished and God-fearing men, to contribute by means of his art to the glorification of the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Later on he looked upon it as a great fault that he had, as early as 1555, published a volume of madrigals, in which the beauty of women and worldly love had been extolled. It would seem that he formed a friendship with Philip Neri; at any rate the latter assisted the great master at his death. That in some way Palestrina had been brought into contact with Marcellus II, the zealous reforming Pope, may be gathered from the title he gave to one of his most celebrated master-pieces, the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*. During the short reign of Marcellus the master belonged to the choir of the Sistine Chapel, and he must certainly have been present when the Pope summoned the singers and reproached them for the unsuitable music to which he had listened on Good Friday, 1555. Probably so as to give scope to the affectations of some virtuosi among the singers, they had, as Massarelli testifies, allowed the whole performance to appear rather as an expression of joy, than of sorrow, for the death of Christ. The Pope insisted that this must never occur again, and that the text of the chant must not be allowed to lose its intelligibility by reason of the embellishments and ornamentations of the singers. Massarelli, who relates the incident, adds that the singers, to the great satisfaction of the faithful, carried out the Pope's instructions. A year later Palestrina himself wrote, in 1556, his *Improperia* for Good Friday, which almost entirely avoided all counterpoint, yet in their depth of feeling and their intrinsic beauty are among the most splendid compositions of the master. In the same year he set the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremias to music, for use in Holy Week. It is very probable that it was about the same time that he wrote the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, and that in so doing he was actuated by the wish to carry out the Pope's plans for the reform of church music.

The advance which church music made by means of Palestrina was due, in no small degree, to the advocates of ecclesiastical reform. Palestrina repaid the debt he owed to them by preserving their reforming zeal from undue precipitation. Even after the appearance of the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, the voice of certain zealots, who wished to see figured music entirely banished from divine service, was not at once silenced. There is a well-founded tradition that Pius IV himself was not altogether opposed to this view, and that he was on the point of proposing a decree in this sense to the Council of Trent. Palestrina's masses, however, made the Pope change his mind, and won him over completely to the style of the master. Referring to the Christian name of Palestrina, John, Pius IV is said to have remarked concerning the Mass of Pope Marcellus, that it reminded him of the harmonies of the heavenly Jerusalem, heard by the Apostle St. John, of which another John had now given the world a foretaste.

The impulse which the Council of Trent had given to the reform of church music, although it had not issued any actual decree on the subject, was not without effect in other ways. Its insistence, above all, that the words of the chant must always be intelligible, whatever the wealth of the musical ornamentation, was included by Charles Borromeo, together with the other Tridentine decrees, in an ordinance of his first provincial synod of 1565; with this, it was spread throughout the whole Catholic world, and was repeated in many provincial synods.

In Rome itself, Cardinals Borromeo and Vitelli turned their attention to the subject of church music in connection with their duties on the congregation for the explanation of the decrees of Trent. At first, it is true, they were occupied rather with the reform of the choir of Papal singers, than with the reform of music itself; fourteen of the members of the choir were dismissed, and the singers were reduced to the original number of twenty-four. But the chant itself was examined, to see whether it was in accordance with the desires of the Council. Under the date of April 28th, 1565, the diary of the choir states that the singers performed several masses at the house of Cardinal Vitelli so that he might judge whether the words could be understood. By that time the two Cardinals had not to arrive at any decision as to whether figured music was to be retained in the churches or not. They were satisfied with the music then in use, and also with that of Orlando di Lasso, although he was even more free in his treatment of the subject than Palestrina. Through Cardinal Truchsess, in 1561 and 1562, Vitelli had copies of masses by Orlando sent to him by Duke Albert V, and declared that he, as well as Borromeo, was satisfied with them.

We have no record of which the masses were which the Papal singers performed at Vitelli's house on April 28th, 1565. It is probable that the works of Palestrina, seeing the vogue which he enjoyed, were not omitted, and this becomes all the more probable in view of the fact that in the October of 1565 "by reason of the compositions already published, or about to be published for the use of the Papal choir" his salary was increased in such a way that, although he was not a Papal singer, he nevertheless received the full salary of one.

During the years that follow we still hear of the endeavours of ecclesiastically-minded composers to safeguard the intelligibility of the chant. The contemporary of Palestrina, Giovanni Animuccia, choir-master at St. Peter's, who also composed songs in a simple form for the "Oratory" of Philip Neri, published a book of masses in 1567, in the preface to which he speaks of the wish of "certain persons" that the words sung should always be intelligible. It would seem that his work satisfied the commission of Cardinals, for in the following year, by their express orders, he was told to compose hymns, motets and masses "in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, and the recent regulations of the commission." Cardinal Borromeo caused a certain Vincenzo Ruffo to compose psalms and masses, which state on the title-page their conformity with the rules of the Council of Trent.



CHAPTER XIV.

Reforming Activity of Pius IV, Charles Borromeo, and the Jesuits.

While the Council was still sitting, Pius IV had been accused by the Gallican party of encroaching on its liberty, a reproach which won a certain notoriety through the witticism of Lansac. The answer to this charge, however, came from the Council itself, and was to the effect that such talk not only impugned the honour of the assembly, but might even cast doubts upon its validity. If the Pope had no part in the Council, then it was no true Council at all, and its decrees would be null and void, as had been shown in the early ages of Christianity in the case of the so-called "Robber-Council" of 449. They who spoke in this way started from the false principle that it is not by the ordinance of God that the head and president of a Council must be the Pope, to whom in a special way the promise of infallibility in matters of faith has been given. The view that the Pope could be excluded from the Council, and that no courier must pass between Trent and Rome to learn his opinion, rested upon this false principle. The Pope is, in fact, in accordance with Catholic principles the head of the bishops; he is so when the bishops are living apart from each other in their dioceses, and he is so in exactly the same way when they are assembled in a Council. The theory that an assembly of bishops is independent of the Pope, and can even impose laws on the Pope himself, is only an echo of those adopted in the XVth century, but of which the first ages of the faith and Christian antiquity had no knowledge. Some say, wrote Pius IV in an autograph letter to Philip II, that the Council is not free, because they want a Huguenot, Protestant, or Lutheran Council. In reality it is free to such an extent that everyone says and puts forward whatever comes into his head, so that great confusion arises; some indeed have become frankly insolent, and it would appear that they aim at nothing less than the destruction of the Roman see. He, however, would quietly go on his way, and would make provision for a reform of the strictest kind, which would make the whole Curia cry out in alarm.

It is true that the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees could not be the work of a single pontificate, but the credit of having, at any rate, made a resolute and decisive beginning cannot be denied to the Medici Pope. This carrying out of the decrees was inaugurated and placed on a firm footing by the unconditional confirmation of the Council, and by the appointment of the special congregation of Cardinals to watch over the reform. Pius further completed these arrangements by the fact that on February 17th, 1565, he declared null all privileges which ran counter to the decrees of Trent.

This congregation of Cardinals at once began to exercise its functions. Between October 8th, 1564, and August 31st, 1565, its secretary, Pogiani, had to

send out 67 decisions, mostly to Italian and Spanish dioceses ; these decisions prove that the congregation treated the doubts and complaints referred to them by the Pope strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Council, and that measures were already being taken in the dioceses to introduce the Tridentine reforms. A beginning was made by combatting the accumulation of benefices, by insisting on the residence of bishops, by the visitation of the religious orders, and by the establishment of seminaries.

More important, however, than all these separate measures was the radical renewal of the Roman official world, the reform of the Roman Curia which had so long been asked for, and which had been so definitely promised by Pius IV.

A picture of the conditions at the Papal court, in which definite and clear emphasis is laid on the causes of the evils, and the difficulties in dealing with them, was drawn, shortly after the close of the Council of Trent by the bishop who was afterwards to become Cardinal Commendone. There is no place in the world, so he begins his description, which affords a more favourable spot for making one's fortune than Rome; at that court, more than at any other, or in any other state, a number of ambitious people of every kind succeed in attaining the end of their desires; there the door is open to all.

The reason for this, to a great extent, democratic character of the Eternal City, is to be found, according to Commendone, in the very nature of the supreme government. It is a fact that the power of the Pope is accountable to no one on earth, yet he receives his power by the election of the Cardinals. Although he has suddenly been raised far above his fellows, he nevertheless owes his elevation to those who were yesterday his equals, and he is therefore inclined, at least at first, to use his power in a moderate manner, all the more so as a Cardinal is frequently elected Pope, of whose elevation there was little expectation. A popular character is thereby impressed upon the whole system of government. As is the case with a republic, anyone can entertain the hope of attaining to the most exalted positions. From this comes, too, the freedom to speak and act as one likes, which is allowed to all in Rome; from this comes the anxiety of ambitious officials to stand well with everyone ; from this too comes the lavish expenditure which they make in order to attain this end, often far beyond their means.

Moreover, people of every kind can make their fortune in Rome. Wealth, and the fact of having been born of a family which had already produced a Cardinal, certainly gives reason to expect high office, but even those of small means, so long as they are capable in other ways, can indulge in the most exalted hopes, for whereas at other courts there is need of but two officials of high attainments, a secretary and an auditor, the Papal government has need of the services of a whole number of auditors of the Rota, referendaries both *gratiae* and *justitiae*, deputies, governors, commissaries, auditors for the States of the Church, and finally Cardinals for the two *signaturae*, and all of these must be well skilled in the law. The wealthy and the nobles do not willingly devote themselves to learned studies, and for that very reason the widest field lies open in Rome to those of more modest means. Anyone, whether of high or low estate, can make his way, so long as he is capable.

Rome is therefore a city of opposites and contrasts, and this character is still further accentuated by the fact that the Popes are for the most part well advanced in years before they ascend the throne and the government is therefore frequently changed. On account of the unique position of the Popes, however, such an occurrence is accompanied by greater changes than would be the case elsewhere. These changes are such as would take place in an ordinary city, if the prince were frequently to change his dwelling place, and that at every such change all the streets had to be altered, so that they might lead to the new palace, and that to effect this houses were pulled down, palaces cut through, and streets hitherto deserted filled with life, while others which had hitherto been centres of traffic became deserted. In addition to this the Cardinals often deliberately elect a Pope who in many ways is directly the opposite to his predecessor, either because they wish for a change, or because the mistakes and exaggerations of the deceased Pope have made his manner of government unpopular. In accordance with the dispositions of the head, there comes about a change in the behaviour of the court, even in matters that concern their private lives. People, therefore, only bind themselves by agreements for life, and should an exception occur, the heirs quickly dispose of the property in Rome, either because they can do nothing with it, or because they do not wish to remain in the city. Everything in Rome is therefore in a constant state of change; even the names of houses, streets and squares are frequently changed, and those parts of the city which have nothing to do with the court, are nevertheless drawn into the vortex by the influence of those circles which set the tone to Rome. A friend of Commendone used therefore to say that he did not know whether the constantly changing weather in Rome was the cause of the instability of the Curia, or whether the continual changes in the Curia affected the weather.

Rome was, therefore, to use the expression of Commendone, no longer a city, but a place where foreigners lived for a long time, like a market or a diet, and everything was always on the move. People with all the virtues and vices which marked the closing years of the Renaissance, flocked thither to seek their fortune. Once they had attained the object of their desires, they were distinguished from the laity by the possession of a benefice, or perhaps by ordination, but not by their manner of life ; they became clerics or prelates without even knowing the name of the office they held. There was a complete lack of education in the spirit of the priesthood.

As the principal root of all the evils existing in the Curia during the time of the Renaissance, Commendone points to its worldliness. The Pope and Cardinals were too anxious to emulate the secular princes; they forgot that the object of all ecclesiastical offices and revenues is the service of religion, and that religion can only be served properly by conscientiousness and virtue. It had therefore come to pass that ecclesiastical offices and benefices were looked upon as a means of enriching relations, rewarding devoted servants, and of forming parties in the College of Cardinals, so as to influence the election of the next Pope. Hence persons were promoted who were distinguished by anything rather than learning and piety, while, to enrich some special favourite, a whole number of benefices were heaped upon him. The consequence of all this was a great loss of the respect in which the Pope and Cardinals were held.

But the responsibility for the deterioration in ecclesiastical affairs also rested, in the opinion of Commendone, in no small degree with the laity, who were so loud in their complaints of the corruption of the Curia. Most of the offices and benefices had become hereditary in certain families, and were disposed of as if they were private property. Especially during the last hours of the head of the family, relations and friends crowded round the bed of the dying man, besieging him with requests to secure the ecclesiastical property for the family, and he who refused to comply with their requests was looked upon as blameworthy. The view had come to be held that the Church as such should not possess temporal goods; the princes, therefore, looked upon ecclesiastical property as belonging to them, the good ones, in the belief that they could administer it better than the Church, and the bad ones from greed, and a kind of mania to absorb all rights into their own hands. The Curia, therefore, no longer had the free disposal of the benefices, while the Pope found himself in the unhappy predicament of having either to give in to the proposals of the princes, or in some other way to take precautions so as to preserve the bare essentials of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The greater part of the official posts and ecclesiastical revenues were likewise in the power of the princes, wherefore many clerics entered into the service of the secular power, while the Curia itself was divided because the princes all had their partisans there. The Pope could not even be sure of his ambassadors and nuncios, as they too were sometimes tempted to promote, at least in some matters, the interests of the princes rather than those of the Church. In Rome itself, the Cardinals could no longer be given that share in the government of the Church which they had formerly possessed, as they were to be considered rather as the honoured friends of the princes than as the representatives of ecclesiastical government.

While the great prelates consumed the revenues of the ecclesiastical offices, the performance of the duties attached to those offices was left to badly paid and unworthy hirelings. The ranks of the secular clergy were crowded with such persons, just as the monasteries were filled with unworthy monks, who furnished heresy with its best preachers. A serious symptom of the preponderance of a non-Christian spirit, was the exaggerated veneration paid to ancient paganism. Eulogies were delivered in praise of men who should be described as monsters rather than as merely criminals. People were even ashamed of names which had a Christian significance, and many changed them for others of pagan renown. Even such trivial details as these show how far the hearts of the people had strayed from religion, an estrangement which rendered the government of the Church and the defeat of heresy extremely difficult.

Commendone concludes his description of the abuses both within and without the Curia with some reflections as to the manner of restoring to the Church her original purity and lustre. It is easy, he says, to speak of the need of reform, but very difficult to name a procedure by which it may be brought about. How will the princes be prevailed upon not to foster such abuses in the future? Reform decrees may be issued, but to whom are they to be entrusted for execution? To the prelates of the day? That would be to pour new wine into old bottles. To prelates who are yet to be trained? Where are such to be found in sufficient numbers, and how are all the offices to be filled with them without having recourse to violence? Further, should they aim at the abolition of all the abuses at a single blow, or should they content themselves with particular reforms? The former course seems impossible, yet the latter is not enough; it

would be a case of patching an old garment with new cloth. Finally should they issue new reform regulations, which actually contained nothing beyond what was already prescribed in the old canons, or should they be content to devote themselves merely to the enforcement of the ancient rules of ecclesiastical discipline?

When Pius IV set to work, a few years later, really to put the work of reform into force, the greater part of the difficulties and fears of Commendone had already lost their force. The Council had decided as to how the renewal of Christendom was to be proceeded with. The reform of the princes and of the policy of national churches was indeed left to the judgment of history, but as far as the reform of the Roman court was concerned, it was precisely the crowning mistake of Paul IV, the war with Spain, which had brought about the most salutary change, in that henceforth the Papal States disappeared from among the number of the great powers of political importance, and the Pope and Cardinals had been thrown back upon their proper sphere of activity, the care of the spiritual government of the Church.

Pius IV had, even while the Council was still sitting, issued drastic measures against the deplorable abuses in the Roman official world. The Rota, the Penitentiaria, and the various Roman tribunals had been subjected to new regulations.

We have, the Pope wrote to Philip II, on May 23rd, 1562, inaugurated a very strict reform, which will prove to be the salvation of the world, and we intend to carry it still further; in doing so, we are not considering our own advantage, for we have, at one stroke, deprived ourselves of 200,000 scudi. After the close of the Council, the superintendence of these tribunals, and the carrying out of this reform, was entrusted to the Congregation of Cardinals which was charged with the execution of the Tridentine decrees. The Apostolic Camera, on November 1st, 1564, was again subjected to an ordinance of reform. On November 7th, 1565, the Penitentiaria was placed under the direction of Borromeo as Grand Penitentiary.

The reforms of Pius IV in the matter of benefices were of great importance. All expectancies and reservations, even if they had been granted to Cardinals, were withdrawn or limited as early as September 10th, 1560. A constitution of the same year was directed against the not uncommon artifice of beginning interminable lawsuits, so as not to be forced to give up illegally held Church revenues. The so-called "confidential" simony, which was practised in the matter of benefices by means of the accesses and *regressus* and the like, had already been forbidden to the Cardinals by Pius IV in the consistory of May 14th, 1562; in the years that followed he again admonished them, and issued a formal decree on the matter, which was chiefly aimed at the Curia itself. The prohibition to the nuncios to receive benefices or promotion through the intervention of the secular princes, struck at the very highest dignitaries of the Church. On May 12, 1564, the Pope ordered that when, for the future, the affairs of a Cardinal were discussed in consistory, as, for example, the conferring upon him of a church or abbey, the Cardinal in question was to withdraw from the room, so that the others might express their views on the case with greater freedom. Pius also renewed and amplified the provisions of the Council of Trent against unconscientious titular bishops, who conferred Holy Orders on all and sundry who asked for them.

The successor of Paul IV had modified many of the strict regulations of that Pope, such as the constitutions against “apostates” from the religious orders, the alienation of Church property, and the Jews. Moreover, a decree upon the Papal election, which Pius IV had, at any rate, the intention of issuing, had, it would appear, been suggested to him by the very contrast between himself and his predecessor.

When the reassembling of the Council of Trent was under consideration, Pius IV, following the example of Paul IV, and to a great extent in his very words, had on September 22nd, 1561, issued a bull, by which the right of electing the Pope, even during the session of the Council, was restricted to the Cardinals and not to the Council. The bull was only published in the consistory of November 19th, 1561. On this occasion Pius “decided and declared” that the Pope could not appoint his successor, nor a coadjutor with the right of succession, not even if all the Cardinals, either together or separately, gave their consent, so that the election was left to the free decision of the Cardinals. According to the account of Cardinal Alfonso Carafa, Pius added that he had made this declaration because “certain people” thought that this power belonged to the head of the Church, and that he would make arrangements that a bull should be framed on the point. It may be gathered from another report of the same consistory of November 19th, who the persons were who ascribed such wide powers to the Pope. Paul IV, it is here stated, was of opinion that he could himself appoint his successor, and attempted to do so. Probably his eagerness to exclude from the tiara certain Cardinals of whose faith he entertained suspicions, notably Cardinal Morone, gave rise to this idea in the mind of Paul IV. Pius IV accordingly took this opportunity to make any such attempt impossible for the future.

The promised bull did not appear, but Pius IV again recurred to the matter in the consistory of May 18th, 1565. The question, he said, whether the Pope has the right to appoint a coadjutor with the right of succession, has been controverted hitherto; discussions had been held on the point under various Popes, and recently under Paul IV, while even now the affirmative view had its supporters; he therefore intended to put an end to these differences of opinion by issuing a Papal decision. Morone, indeed, declared that such a decision was unnecessary, as no Pope would dare to name his successor himself, and this view found favour among the Cardinals. Some, with Reumano, even thought the proposed decree harmful, as it would give the impression of the existence of a real danger which had to be legislated against. Finally, however, the majority of the Cardinals agreed to the drafting of the constitution, whereupon Pius IV declared his intention of proceeding with it. The existence of such a decree would always be an obstacle to any Pope who, in the future, might really desire to appoint his successor, even though it was not easy to safeguard it with such clauses as would render its abrogation impossible. Pius, however, did not, even now, go beyond this oral declaration in consistory; the proposed constitution did not appear, and the question which it was intended to decide still remained open as before.

The bull of Pius IV concerning the conclave, dated October 9th, 1562, is, on the other hand, of great importance with regard to the conduct of the Papal election, the necessity for the reform of which had been so glaringly illustrated in the proceedings at the election of the Medici Pope himself. In this new bull, which was issued after long deliberations, Pius IV confirms and amplifies the conclave

bulls of his predecessors, from Gregory X to Julius II. The Cardinals absent from Rome are only to be waited for for ten days after the death of the Pope. The obsequies for the deceased pontiff are to last for nine days; should a feast intervene, on which it is not possible to celebrate the funeral offices, it is nevertheless to be included in the nine days, and the disbursements for the service which is omitted are to be given to the poor. The funeral expenses, which had become exorbitant, are not to exceed the sum of 10,000 ducats, including the payments to the clergy who assist; the money bestowed in alms on the Roman populace, however, was not included in this. After ten days had elapsed the Cardinals must go into conclave without fail, and set to work at once on the business of the election, without waiting to draw up an election capitulation.

During the vacancy the College of Cardinals is not to assume any power belonging to the Pope; they are to issue no orders with regard to the temporal affairs of the States of the Church, or the Papal treasury, except such as may be necessary for the support of the Papal household or the defence of the States of the Church. The offices of Camerlengo and Penitentiary are to be retained, though their powers are restricted; the office of Datary lapses, and the *Signatura Gratiae* is in abeyance.

In the conclave itself, the right of calling together the electors, and discussing with them doubtful points and matters of business which may arise, belongs, during the first three days, to a committee composed of the senior Cardinal Bishop, Cardinal Priest, and Cardinal Deacon. After the lapse of three days these give place to the next three in seniority, and so on. The cells of the conclave are to be assigned by lot, and are not to be changed or enlarged. A number of regulations enjoin the strict observance of the enclosure, which had been almost entirely ignored at the last conclave. No one is to inhabit any room adjoining the conclave, either above or below or at the sides. The cells, as well as the walls of the enclosure must be frequently inspected by the deputation of Cardinals, to see that there are no prohibited openings. Each Cardinal is to be allowed only two servants, or, in case of illness, at the most three; these must have been a considerable time in his service, and must be approved for the conclave by the deputation of Cardinals. Besides these, one sacristan, two masters of ceremonies, one confessor, two physicians, one surgeon, one apothecary, one carpenter, one chamberlain, two barbers, and ten servants, were to be admitted. In general, no visits from persons outside are to be allowed, nor any correspondence with them. Bets concerning the election are forbidden. The guardians of the conclave are to allow no news to enter, and a conclavist is only to be allowed to go into the city on the sworn testimony of a physician, and he must not return. Every elector must at least have received the subdiaconate. No one is to be excluded from the conclave on the pretext that he is excommunicated, or has otherwise incurred the censure of the Church. In giving their votes the Cardinals are not to be influenced by the recommendations of the secular princes or by other worldly considerations, but are only to keep God before their eyes. The prelates, officials and ambassadors, to whom the protection of the conclave is entrusted, must bind themselves by oath to the observance of these regulations, which must, on each occasion, be read and sworn to by the Cardinals before the beginning of the election proceedings.

Although all these regulations had been carefully thought out, it was not possible by such means to remove the principal cause of the disorders in the conclaves which had been held in recent times. Under the existing conditions it was impossible to deprive the Catholic princes of their influence upon the election. Once this was acknowledged, then intercourse between them and the Cardinals could not be completely prevented; in other words, the strict regulations concerning the enclosure had to be relaxed, and as long as the existing conditions remained unchanged, it was impossible for any decree to effect a reform of any importance.

The observance of the duty of residence, especially by the bishops, was looked upon by all persons of discernment as the principal point of ecclesiastical reform. The Council of Trent had already issued decrees on this matter in 1547; when it returned to the subject in 1562, Cardinal Seripando remarked that, in the opinion of all nations, the present Council would far excel all previous assemblies if it only succeeded in giving effect to this one decree as to residence. All efforts, however, to enforce the observance of this duty had hitherto proved unsuccessful. Paul IV had endeavoured to enforce it with the utmost severity during the last year of his life. He only succeeded in driving the prelates who were forgetful of their duty to seek another Rome in Venice or Naples; after his death they returned to the seat of the Curia. Pius IV from the first displayed great determination with regard to the question of residence; after a preliminary admonition in the consistory of February 7th, 1560, he summoned all the bishops then in Rome to appear before him eight days later, and ordered them to return to their dioceses at the beginning of Lent. The prospect, however, of soon being able to send them to the General Council at Trent, caused the Pope to refrain, for the moment, from further pressure. It was only when this prospect did not seem likely to be realized, that he again assembled the bishops who were in the Eternal City, on September 4th, and exhorted them to fulfil their former promise; he then caused to be read to them a constitution, which reminded prelates of their pastoral duties, threatened the negligent, and promised privileges to the obedient.

After the close of the Council, the Pope insisted, in the first consistories, that the question of residence should now be seriously taken in hand. As, however, many of the prelates were worn out by their exhausting labours at the Council, he was once more indulgent. It was not until March 1st, 1564, that he again summoned all the bishops in Rome to a consistory and exhorted them in a long speech to return to their flocks. No one was to be exempted from this duty; he would in future employ no bishop for the business of the Curia, or make use of them as nuncios or governors, and would only grant a dispensation for the most urgent reasons; his own nephews must spend at least a part of the year in their diocese. He was not at present thinking of a creation of Cardinals, but when he should do so, he would not overlook the merits and piety of each; he then dismissed them with his blessing and permission to start on their journeys. He gave the same instructions to the Cardinals who held bishoprics; if any of them had given up their church in favour of a relative, they must now send that relative away and settle at least 1,000 ducats on him. When Pius visited the Belvedere some weeks later, and found several bishops in the Hall of Constantine, he caused his chair to be stopped, and asked them why they had not returned to their dioceses. When some of them replied that they had been detained in Rome by law-suits or other business, he insisted that they should go; they could leave



behind procurators and advocates for the lawsuits, for anyone might plead a lawsuit as an excuse for not fulfilling the duty of residence; even the Cardinals must go. The Pope then summoned an auditor, and charged him to give orders to all to depart, on the penalty of losing their benefices. A short time afterwards a general *monitorium* was issued, which bound everyone to the duty of residence under the same penalty. On November 25th, 1564, another admonition followed, and laid it down that the property of non-resident prelates and priests with the cure of souls, should revert at their death to the Apostolic Camera. On May 5th, 1565, yet another *monitorium* against non-resident ecclesiastics was issued.

The prescriptions of the Council on the subject of the accumulation of benefices also caused no small anxiety, and they could only be put into force gradually. In accordance with the considerate principles of canon law, the Council's regulations were not extended to petitions which had been presented before the confirmation of the Council.

One can hardly be mistaken in recognizing in all these regulations for reform the influence of the Secretary of State on his uncle the Pope. Borromeo came more and more to look upon the furtherance and carrying out of the decrees of Trent as his life's work, and to this task he devoted, with the greatest determination and persistence, all his talents, his no small influence over the Pope, and, later on, his pastoral labours. He became for all time the model and guide for the carrying into effect of the Tridentine decrees, and he thus became one of the most influential ecclesiastical reformers, while his name must ever be closely associated with that of the Council of Trent.

While the Council was sitting, the whole of the extensive correspondence with the legates passed through the hands of Borromeo. Every week reports and letters from Trent were constantly arriving in Rome, often several on the same day, and it was the duty of the Secretary of State to present a report on all these to the Pope. It is true that short summaries of these documents were prepared for him by subordinate officials, but there is reason to believe that Borromeo did not base his reports to the Pope on these summaries alone, but that he read the documents themselves. Pius IV himself decided what answers were to be sent, but it was the duty of the Secretary of State to examine and correct the drafts of these replies. It is clear, moreover, that on many occasions, Borromeo did not conduct the correspondence with the Council merely as a tool in his uncle's hands, but that he formed his own opinion on events, and maintained it even against the Pope.

The joy and self-sacrifice with which Borromeo took upon his shoulders this great burden of work, in which he saw the service of God, and the well-being of the Church, is sometimes to be seen in his merely business communications with the legates. On the day of the closing of the Council he speaks of it as the greatest benefit which could have been conferred on the world, an enterprise redounding to the honour of the Pope, a thing both beneficial and necessary for Christianity, and one which had set free the Church of God from great danger at a moment of dire peril. Perhaps so distinguished a gathering would not meet again for many centuries, and he burned with zeal to see the Council carried into effect at once as the needs of Christendom demanded.

Borromeo began the work of carrying out the Tridentine regulations in his own household and his own person. When, immediately after the close of the Council, he reduced his princely state, increased the simplicity and strictness of his manner of life, and set himself to the practice of preaching, he was led to this more than anything else by his respect for the ordinances of Trent. The Council should not have vainly laid it down that the state of a bishop must be simple, and that preaching is his first duty. Borromeo went much further than the mere words of the Council; the “almost regal magnificence of his court disappeared more and more, until it became an almost exaggerated simplicity.

It was an inestimable advantage for the reform movement in Rome that the nephew of the Pope, the first and most influential of the Cardinals, should have placed himself at its head. “He gives everyone so splendid an example,” wrote the Venetian ambassador Soranzo, in 1565, “that it may indeed be said that he is in his own person the cause of more good at the Roman court than all the decrees of the Council of Trent taken together.”

If the Papal court, as Soranzo writes, was no longer the same as it had been, this change must not be entirely attributed to the influence of Borromeo. The Cardinals had now become poorer, says the same correspondent, since they had had to give up their benefices in England and Germany after the defection of those countries. Moreover, in consequence of the Tridentine decree as to residence they could no longer accumulate three or four bishoprics and numerous benefices in their own hands. Besides this, the foreign princes no longer sought the friendship of the Cardinals so eagerly as they had been wont to do. The weakness of the States of the Church had become only too apparent under Paul IV; it was, therefore, no longer of the same importance to the princes whether this man or that became Pope, so that they no longer strove, by means of costly gifts, to secure for themselves a party in the College of Cardinals or in the conclave. One hardly hears nowadays, writes Soranzo, that this or that Cardinal is Imperial, French, or Spanish, and their partisanship for the princes has disappeared with the liberality of the latter. Philip II, moreover, considered himself so powerful that in his opinion the Pope would in any case be obliged to be on friendly terms with him, while France, both on account of the whole tendency of her policy, and of her internal wars, could no longer think of mixing herself up in Roman affairs.

The vanishing wealth of the Roman princes of the Church was also the reason why men of talent no longer flocked to the Eternal City to make their fortunes in the service of the Cardinals. On account of the Tridentine decrees of residence, such men could, in spite of all their efforts to secure the favour of the great, only succeed in obtaining a single benefice. To serve a Cardinal any longer could not procure them a second, the duty of residence called them back to their flocks, and they left Rome.

The greater simplicity which gradually prevailed in Rome, however, must not be explained merely by the disappearance of the means of making a great display. A spirit of greater seriousness and of deeper religious feeling was making itself felt in the Eternal City, and this was, in no small degree, owing to the influence of Borromeo. “At the Curia,” again says Soranzo, “they live very simply, partly, as has been said, from want of means, but perhaps not less on account of the good example of Cardinal Borromeo, for those in subordinate positions adapt

themselves to the example of their princes. No Cardinal or courtier can any longer count on favour, if he does not live, either in reality, or at least in appearance, as he docs. At any rate, in public they stand aloof from every kind of amusement. Cardinals are no longer seen riding or driving masked in the company of ladies; at the most they sometimes ride in coaches, but without any retinue. Banquets, games, hunting parties, liveries, and all forms of external luxury, are all the more at an end because there are no longer any lay persons of high rank at the court, such as were formerly to be found there in great numbers among the relatives and intimates of the Pope. Priests now go about in the dress of their order so that the reform is visible to the eye. On the other hand," Soranzo adds, "artisans and shop-keepers might as well declare themselves bankrupt; since the offices and posts are in the hands of the Milanese, who are well known to show but little generosity, there are very few people here who are pleased with the government."

It was inevitable that there should be no lack of complaints against the stern reformer and his "Theatine ways," but even Annibale Caro, who gives strong expression to this feeling, testifies that people no longer came to Rome to make their fortunes, but to pray, and that the change in the city must be traced to the influence of Borromeo. Men of ecclesiastical sympathies, as well as the Roman populace, were, on the other hand, loud in the praises of Borromeo. It must have been of the utmost importance for the moral regeneration of the Eternal City that the Cardinal Secretary of State used his influence with the Pope to bring worthy men into the Sacred College. At the appointment of Cardinals on March 12th, 1565, no one was promoted except at the suggestion of Borromeo or with his consent.

The example of his nephew did not fail to have an influence on the Pope himself. At the end of July, and the beginning of August, 1564, he reformed the Apostolic Palace, and over 400 superfluous courtiers were dismissed. A new majordomo had already been appointed, and for this important position Pius chose a man who had not before come into public notice, and whom the least of the Cardinals would not have chosen for such a position in his household. The Pope dismissed all the chamberlains outside Rome except five, and the number of the *camerieri segreti*, chaplains, grooms and horses was reduced. It was calculated that the Papal household saved 20,000 ducats yearly by these reforms.

Perhaps the measures that were taken for the improvement of ecclesiastical conditions in Rome were of even greater importance. The Pope insisted that the divine worship in the titular churches of the Cardinals should be reorganized, and priests who gave scandal punished. Cardinal Savelli, the Vicar of Rome, received orders on May 12th, 1564, to arrange for the visitation of the Roman clergy by the titular bishop, Cesarini. Cesarini had previously been entrusted with the same duty; later on, Savelli, as well as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese made use of the Roman Jesuits for this difficult task, in the case of the churches which were under their jurisdiction. The same Society had also, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council, to examine candidates for Holy Orders, as well as those seeking benefices.

The reforming care of the Pope was also extended to the citizens and nobles of Rome. Several edicts of the years 1564 and 1565 are directed against blasphemy, against walking about in the churches, against prostitutes, who were

not to be allowed to live in the neighbourhood of churches or of noble married women, against vagabonds, and against the bearing of arms. A confraternity, which gathered together homeless and insane beggars from the streets of Rome, and gave them protection from cold and hunger, was confirmed by the Pope and enriched with indulgences and privileges, as well as a pious association which combatted prostitution by undertaking the care and education of poor girls between the ages of nine and twelve. The Hospital for Catechumens, which specially looked after the converts from Judaism, likewise enjoyed the protection of the Pope. An edict of December 10th, 1563, issued by the magistracy in the name of the Pope, gave very detailed rules concerning the degree of luxury which might be allowed in matters of dress at banquets. On the other hand, the Pope absolutely required of the Cardinals that they should maintain a state in keeping with their rank as princes of the Church. In the consistory of November 17th, 1564, he accordingly forebade them to repair to the Vatican on solemn occasions in coaches. In accordance with the ancient custom they must come on horseback; Charles V had especially admired the cavalcade of Cardinals at the ecclesiastical functions. The Pope was prepared to assign a dwelling in the Vatican to the poorer Cardinals who could not afford to keep a stable. The whole of Rome, he said in the consistory of December 15th, 1564, was rejoiced that the Cardinals no longer rode about in coaches; such a means of conveyance should in future be left to women; it was not seemly for men, and he would take care that its use in future should be limited to ladies.

The regeneration of the priesthood was not to be brought about by laws and penalties, but only by having the clergy of the future educated from their earliest youth in special establishments, and in a genuine sacerdotal spirit, so that an entirely new generation of priests might come into being. This view had already been expressed during the first period of the Council by the Jesuit Lejay, the representative of Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg<sup>1</sup> The idea was first put into practice by Cardinal Truchsess in his college at Dillingen, in 1549, and by Ignatius Loyola in the Germanicum in Rome, in 1552. Later, in 1555, Cardinal Pole exhorted the Bishops of Cambrai and Tournai to imitate the foundation of Loyola in their dioceses. and in 1556 he drew up for England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, his celebrated decree on seminaries, which became the basis of the decree on the subject in the Council of Trent. This was unanimously approved by the fathers of the Council, and some were of opinion that even had the synod accomplished nothing more than the promulgation of this one decree, it would still deserve credit for a work of incalculable importance.

The fathers of the Council had originally intended to embody in their decree an express wish that such a seminary might be founded in Rome itself as would serve as a model for the whole world. The legates sought to evade this request by promising in the name of the Pope that he would meet their wishes, and found a seminary in Rome which would be worthy of him and of the Eternal City. On July 26th, 1563, the legates therefore addressed a petition to Pius IV in their own name and that of the Council, that he would soon take in hand a work which all considered so necessary and useful. Borromeo answered on August 4th that the Pope already had in mind the plan of a model seminary in Rome. In the consistory of August 18th, 1563, Pius IV charged Cardinals Mula, Savelli, Borromeo and Vitelli to select, in conjunction with the Cardinal Dean, suitable youths, and to decide on the governing body of the institution; 6,000 ducats,

provisionally assigned from the Apostolic Camera, should be paid annually for its maintenance.

After the close of the Council, the Pope, in a consistory on December 30th, 1563, insisted on the fact that, after the duty of residence, the next important point of the reform must be the establishment of seminaries. He promised to found these in Rome and Bologna.

It is certain that the want of suitable professors among the secular clergy of Rome is the explanation of the fact that after the lapse of six months, the Pope, in the consistories of March 1st and April 14th, 1564, had to exhort the Cardinals to hasten this work. Already, before the end of April, the deputation of Cardinals had arrived at the decision to entrust the seminary to the Jesuits; the General of the Order, Lainez, gave definite promises in answer to the proposal made to him by Cardinal Savelli.

The news of these proceedings let loose a storm of ill-will against the Jesuits. There already existed but little friendly feeling towards them among the Roman clergy, because the Vicar of the city, Cardinal Savelli, had entrusted them with the thorny task of holding the examination, prescribed by the Council, of those seeking benefices and of the candidates for Holy Orders, and because he, as well as Cardinal Farnese, had caused the Jesuits to make a visitation of the Roman parishes. Several Cardinals, the chapters of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Mary Major, and almost all the parishes of the city, were loud in their complaints, and gave the Pope a list of secular priests who were fully qualified to be professors in the seminary.

Pius IV had not been particularly favourable to the Jesuits in the first half of the year 1564, as he thought the changed manner of life of his nephew, Cardinal Borromeo, was due to their influence. However, he allowed himself to be appeased by Lainez, and the deputation of Cardinals on the question of the seminary adhered to their decision, which the Pope adopted in the consistory of July 28th. On July 31st he visited the Roman and German Colleges, accompanied by several cardinals, and declared himself well satisfied with the Jesuits.

A new and more violent storm, however, was already brewing. The titular bishop, Cesarini, whom Savelli had employed to make the visitation of the Roman parishes, till he replaced him by the Belgian Jesuit Goisson, drew up two indictments against the Order, full of every imaginable accusation against the private lives of its members, as well as against their behaviour in the confessional and in the care of souls; these two documents were not only circulated among the Cardinals in Rome, but were also spread abroad, especially in Germany, among persons of influence. The Pope was indignant with Cesarini, but nevertheless caused his accusations to be submitted to the reform commission for careful examination. The investigation proved the innocence of the accused, and at the end of the year the Pope himself took up their cause, describing the accusations, in briefs which he addressed to the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the three ecclesiastical Electors, and Cardinal Truchsess, as sheer inventions, and recommending the Society of Jesus to the goodwill of the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical.

The excitement against the Jesuits frustrated the Pope's intention of setting an example to the world in carrying out the seminary decree of the Council of Trent. Cardinal Mula anticipated him in the middle of 1564 in his diocese of Rieti. In the same year the first Tridentine seminary was established on German soil through the zeal of Martin von Schaumberg, Bishop of Eichstatt, and soon afterwards the dioceses of Camerino and Montepulciano followed this example. For the moment the Pope had to content himself with promoting the execution of the decree by sending letters of exhortation to the bishops. In France, the Archbishop of Cambrai, in his provincial synod of 1565, urged the establishment of seminaries. .

The Jesuit colleges were looked upon as seminaries in the sense of the Council. For this reason the seminary decree of Trent had been framed in such a way as to exempt the Jesuit colleges from the duty of contributing to the diocesan seminaries, and when the fathers of the Council urged the establishment of a model seminary in the Eternal City, Morone had replied that Rome already had such institutions in the Roman College and the Germanicum. For this reason, after the publication of the decree, many of the bishops sought to fulfil their duty by asking for Jesuit colleges in their dioceses. As Cardinal Truchsess wrote, it was Charles Borromeo who was, above all, filled with the desire that seminaries should be established in every diocese of Christendom, and he had already, since the third opening of the Council, with the support especially of the legate Morone and the General of the Jesuits, Lainez, been working zealously with all his might for the carrying out of this plan. As early as 1564 he had set up an institution at Pavia, for noble youths who were studying at the university, and at the end of the same year the opening of a true seminary in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent had followed in his own diocese of Milan. The first candidates received there came for the most part from Switzerland; he placed the direction of this establishment in the hands of the Jesuits, who, however, accepted the charge only as a temporary measure.

In the consistory of January 12th, 1565, the Pope acknowledged that he felt put to shame by the zeal of his nephew, and that Rome must no longer allow other cities to show her the way in the carrying out of the seminary decree. Cardinal Savelli was instructed to see to it that the necessary contributions for the maintenance of the seminary were promptly made. The institution was at last actually opened in the middle of February; the students attended the lectures at the Roman College, and the palace of Cardinal Carpi, who had lately died (May 2nd, 1564) was assigned to the seminary as its home.

Carpi was the first and last Cardinal Protector of the Jesuit Order. After his death the Society resolved not to renew the petition for the appointment of a Protector. The Pope approved of this decision, saying that he would himself in future take that office upon himself. Except for the above-mentioned temporary misunderstanding, Pius IV, in other ways as well, showed great favour to the Society of Jesus, by confirming and increasing their privileges. He expressly annulled the regulation of his predecessor that the General should only retain his office for three years. When the Council of Trent, in its decree on the religious orders, praised and recognized the special constitution of the Society of Jesus, this was done with the express sanction of the Pope. It was France which gave occasion for this declaration, when its Parliament had made the admission of the

Older, which was so violently opposed there, dependent on the decision of the Council. Later on, Pius IV sent a letter, full of high praise of the Jesuits, to Charles IX, to whom he recommended the college of the Order in Paris. On many other occasions as well he raised his voice for the promotion and protection of the young order. He wrote in this sense to Cardinal Granvelle, in the Netherlands, when the Jesuits had great difficulties to contend with. He exhorted the Archbishop of Goa to respect their rights, and the clergy of Augsburg to keep the peace with them. He also recommended them to the governor and senate of Milan, to the Doge of Genoa, to the Emperor Ferdinand I, and to Maximilian II. Pius IV also instructed the nuncios Delfino and Commendone, when they were sent to invite the German princes to the Council, to arrange for the establishment of as many Jesuit colleges as possible in Germany.

Lainez, the General of the Order, was held in high esteem by Pius IV, who sought his opinion, and attached great weight to his views, especially as to the difficult problem of the best manner of reassembling the Council. It was on the advice of Lainez that duels were forbidden, and the Tridentine profession of faith required of candidates for a doctor's degree. The representations of the General of the Jesuits also had a great influence in bringing about the mitigation of the Index. The successor of Lainez, Francis Borgia, was also treated with the greatest distinction by Pius IV. when, on the day of his election as General of the Society, July 2nd, 1565, he presented himself before the Pope.

Pius IV spoke in terms of special praise of the Jesuits in a letter to Philip II, which shows plainly his anxiety for the firmer establishment of one of the most important educational institutions of that time, the Roman College. "Among all the religious orders," he wrote to the king on November 24th, 1561, "the Society of Jesus deserves to be embraced with special love by the Holy See ; it exercises a zealous and fruitful activity on behalf of the Church, while the progress which the Order has made in so short a time, the good it has done, and the colleges it has founded, are almost incredible." There is, he continues, a large college of the Order in Rome, and the Pope recommends it to the protection and benevolence of the king on the ground that this institution serves as the training ground for the colleges of the Order in Italy, Germany and France ; from this source the Apostolic See continually draws capable labourers, to send them wherever they are needed.

Ignatius of Loyola had, as a matter of fact, when he founded the Roman College, the idea of providing a central point for his Order; from it, as he caused Borgia to be informed in a letter of 1555, colleges had already been spread through the whole of Italy, as at Perugia, Florence, Naples, Loreto, Ferrara, Modena, Genoa and Bologna : to say nothing of the college at Vienna, they were just then sending subjects to found one at Prague: at Strasbourg, Ratisbon, Gran and Ermland, they were insistenty asking for similar establishments. The greater the lack of educated and exemplary Catholics in those places, the more important it was to provide a remedy, by the training of a more worthy laity; this college therefore is an undertaking that concerns the whole world, and not the city of Rome alone.

In addition to being their training ground, it was stated in the same letter, the Roman College must also serve as the pattern and model for the other Jesuit

colleges. According to the idea of Loyola, it was destined to become an instrument for the reform of the sadly decadent study of theology, in the first place for his own Order, and then over a much wider field. He wrote that he intended, in the capital of Christendom, and at the headquarters of the Society of Jesus, to find out by experience what was the best method of conducting such colleges. A scheme of instruction for universities had already been drafted, and they were preparing text-books; they were confident that in a few years' time they would be able to put forward a course of studies "in accordance with which, in the shortest possible time and in the best way, they would be able to teach all the sciences necessary for the service of God, and the care of souls." Moreover, there were, especially in Italy, Sicily, Flanders and Germany, many youthful members of the Order, of great talent and capacity for the care of souls, who were unable to obtain in those countries a scientific training, for the reason that there studies were conducted negligently, and in an excessively prolix manner. For such the Roman College was also necessary. On another occasion Ignatius wrote to Borgia "I estimate the importance of this educational establishment so highly, not only for the Order, but for the whole Church, that I do not know in all Christendom of a better work than its foundation. If the other colleges of the Order were to give the Roman one half of every loaf, and half of every cloak they possess, they would be doing something of great value to themselves as well."

The beginnings of the University, which later on became so celebrated, were very modest. A generous gift of money from the then Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, who was in Rome in 1550, made it possible for Ignatius to come nearer to the realization of his plans. On February 15th, fifteen students of the Order moved into a hired house, and lectures in Latin and Greek were commenced there on the following day. Hebrew was soon added to the curriculum; on October 18th, 1553, the philosophical and theological studies were inaugurated by a solemn disputation in the presence of six Cardinals. Medicine and civil law were excluded from the course of studies, but in 1554 there were five chairs of Latin, one each of rhetoric, Greek, and Hebrew, and three of philosophy. Every day there was a well attended lecture on mathematics, and another on morals, two further lectures on scholastic theology and one on the Holy Scriptures, being also given daily; the course of studies was widened in 1563 by lectures on cases of conscience, and moral philosophy, and it was also possible to obtain instruction in Arabic. It was just because of this wealth of subjects that the Sapienza seemed to be eclipsed. In the year 1561 the number of students had risen to about 800 ; in the years that followed it was still larger, so that several of the classes had to be divided. In the reports special stress is laid upon the fact that many students also flocked to the lectures in philosophy and theology; this was something new for Rome, and was all the more wonderful as the lectures were generally in the morning or the evening, and there were frequent disputations. This fact is a sign of the spirit of reform which was gradually making itself felt. The exclusive predominance of humanism was weakening, and a more serious spirit was taking hold of the Eternal City.

A survey of the subjects taught at the Roman College clearly shows in what sense Ignatius had formed his ideas for the reform of theological studies. The things which he found fault with in the method of teaching the sacred sciences at that time were its extraordinary prolixity, which did not exhaust the subject in the course of many years, the tendency to dwell on sophistries and trivialities, the



neglect of the Sacred Scriptures, and its uninteresting form. Therefore we find in the curriculum of instruction at the Roman College, great stress being laid upon the Sacred Scriptures, the classics, and the positive science ; the constant aim of the professors at the Roman College was to react against undue prolixity, and to discover a method which would combine the necessary thoroughness with the greatest possible brevity ; the number of the drafts and the proposals with regard to this matter which we possess, belonging to the period before 1586, would fill a large volume.<sup>1</sup> Ignatius held firmly to scholasticism, at that time so ostracized, but it was something new for Italy that it was no longer the “master of the sentences” Peter Lombard, but above all Thomas Aquinas whose works were made the ground-plan of the lectures.

By means of his Roman College Ignatius exercised no small influence upon the adaptation to his times of the method of teaching theology, and therefore, indirectly, upon the methods of preaching and giving instruction. It is true that Thomas Aquinas had, since the beginning of the XVIth century, and even before, come back to his place as the great master of the west, and following in his footsteps, the founders of the new scholasticism, the Spanish Dominican, Francisco da Vittoria (died 1546), and his disciples, Melchior Cano, Domenico and Pietro Soto and others, had opened a new era in the treatment of the science of theology.<sup>3</sup> But it was of great importance for the triumph of this new treatment that the Order of the Jesuits should have adopted it in all its educational establishments, and thus have spread it far and wide.

The actual alliance with the Spanish neo-scholasticism only took place, it is true, after the death of Ignatius. Francisco di Toledo, the talented disciple of Domenico Soto, who, when but 23 years old, was lecturing at the University of Salamanca, entered the Society of Jesus in 1558. In the following year he was teaching philosophy in the Roman College to 30 young Jesuits, who were being trained as professors. By his means the theological school of the new Order was linked with that of the older one.

During the lifetime of Ignatius, and for some time after his death, the Roman College could only be maintained with great difficulty, owing to the lack of means. The many students, drawn from the most widely separated nations, were lodged in a hired house, and there were no fixed revenues for their maintenance. It was only under Pius IV that, to some extent at least, provision was made for this necessity. A niece of Paul IV, after the death of her husband, wished to make over her palace, the dwelling of her uncle when a Cardinal, to some religious order. In 1560 Pius IV induced her to give the building to the Jesuits, as the home of the Roman College. The attempts of Pius IV to complete this benefaction by assigning to it fixed revenues were unsuccessful. On the other hand, the College received a church which, begun in 1562, was consecrated in 1567.

Yet another establishment, dedicated to the education of noble youths, after modest beginnings under Paul IV, took definite form under his successor. The idea came from Lainez. Under Paul IV this German College in Rome found itself on the verge of ruin, and it was then that Lainez sought to render its continued existence possible by throwing it open to paying students of all nations, including even those who did not wish to enter the ecclesiastical state. In 1560 thirty- two

such students were lodged with the original German students, whose number had then shrunk to seven. After that the number of the German students rose again to between twenty and thirty, while from the years 1563 and 1573 the College housed about 200 other students. After the new foundation of the Germanicum in the year 1573 the college of the nobles was united to the Roman Seminary. In its new form the Germanicum won for itself a great name in the Catholic world, and sons of the most distinguished noble families sought their education there. Of the 180 extern students who were received there in 1565, 40 entered the ecclesiastical state, six of whom became bishops, while twenty entered the Society of Jesus. Pius IV came to the assistance of the German College with a monthly contribution of fifty gold florins.

The tidings of the new religious life which had awakened in the Eternal City made a great impression everywhere. The Catholics of Germany, wrote Cardinal Truchsess, are filled with sheer joy at the news that the decrees of the Council are being earned out in Rome, and that the reform has penetrated into the household of the Pope himself. They have learned with the greatest satisfaction that the Pope has himself set up a seminary in Rome.

The insistence and exhortations of the Pope also called into being outside Rome at any rate the beginnings of a new life. Already in 1560 Cardinal Ghislieri had made a visitation of his diocese of Mondovi. Commissioned by Cardinal Scotti, Caligari held a visitation of the neglected diocese of Piacenza. Other visitations were completed during the years 1564 and 1565 at Perugia, S. Sepolcro, Bitonto and Oria; it was, however, only under Pius V and Gregory XIII that these became common.

Morality had become greatly relaxed, even among the clergy, above all in Corsica, owing to the frequent wars. Acting on the reports of the Genoese ambassadors, Pius IV exhorted the bishops there to take strong action with the help of the secular arm, to which he gave the right of proceeding against the guilty with the punishment of the galleys.

A reform of the religious orders was also set on foot. It was Pius IV who, on July 17th, 1565, gave St. Teresa leave to found a reformed convent at Avila, thus paving the way to a renewal of the whole Carmelite order. New life also showed itself in the Cistercian order; Louis de Baissey, Abbot of Citeaux, undertook a visitation of the Cistercian convents in north and middle Italy; the Pope gave him his assistance in this undertaking by recommending him to the Viceroy of Naples, and the Dukes of Parma, Savoy, Ferrara, Florence, and Modena, by increasing the powers of the Abbot of Citeaux, and granting him privileges against the system of commendams, to which was chiefly to be attributed the degeneracy in monastic life. In 1563 Louis de Baissey charged Johann von Briedel, Abbot of Hemmerode, to hold a visitation of the convents in the archdioceses of Treves and Mayence. Jerome de la Souchiere, the successor of the Abbot-General Louis, held, on May 21st, 1565, a general chapter for the carrying out of the decrees of Trent. Strict regulations were issued upon the enclosure, the restoration of the monastic buildings, and the abolition of the holding of private property by individual monks; it was enacted that heretical persons and writings were to be removed, and the necessary books for the divine worship procured; it was also decided that, in order to restore monastic discipline, it should be possible to transfer well

instructed monks from the better houses to those that were less good. So as to carry these regulations into effect visitors were appointed, namely, the Abbots of Salem and Kaisheim for Bavaria, the Palatinate and Saxony; the Abbots of Hemmerode and Altenberg for the lower and middle Rhine-land. As early as 1564. the Dominicans held a general chapter, and discussed the carrying out of the decrees of the Council in their Order, and they received the congratulations of Pius IV on their work on April 30th, 1564. The Pope had previously given the General of the Dominicans the task of visiting and reforming the convent at Rieti, saying that he wished for the strict observance of the constitutions of the Order in the sense of the Council of Trent. The Franciscan Conventuals also received new constitutions through the care of the Pope. In the case of the orders of women steps were taken to insist on the strict observance of the enclosure Pius IV. himself wrote to his two sisters, who were Dominican nuns in a convent at Milan, in order to overcome their dislike for the new regulations.

The Council of Trent had attached special importance to the holding of diocesan and provincial synods. In 1562, Bishop. Girolamo Vida held a synod for reform; diocesan synods followed in 1564 and 1565 at Ravenna, Naples and Como. During the same years provincial synods were held at Rheims and Cambrai, in order to promulgate the Tridentine decrees. Especially important was the provincial council at Milan, which formed, as it were, the introduction to that great pastoral activity, by which Charles Borromeo has identified his name for all time with the carrying out of the Council of Trent. Although he was kept in Rome by the Pope, Borromeo had never lost sight of his diocese. In order to set on foot there a radical reform, he begged from the Bishop of Verona the services of the celebrated Niccolò Ormaneto, who had been trained under the greatest of the pre-tridentine reforming bishops, Matteo Giberti. He had accompanied Cardinal Pole to England, had taken part in the Council of Trent, and was now, as a simple parish priest, in charge of a small congregation. In the July of 1564 Ormaneto went to Milan and began the moral regeneration of the completely neglected diocese by assembling a diocesan council of 1200 ecclesiastics and promulgating the decrees of the Council of Trent. He was assisted by priests of the school of Giberti, by the Barnabites, and by the governor of Milan, Avalos de Aquino, Marquis of Pescara. Since 1563 two Jesuits had been preparing the way for the coming of Ormaneto. At first Borromeo had contented himself with having reports sent to him of the more important affairs of his diocese, and consulting upon them with theologians chosen for the purpose. At last, however, as the result of his repeated requests that he might be allowed to devote himself entirely to his diocese, he obtained in the autumn of 1565 permission from the Pope to go, at least for a short time, to Milan, and to hold a provincial council there, for the promulgation in due order of the decrees of the Council in his ecclesiastical province. At this assembly, which lasted from October 15th to November 3rd, eleven bishops were present, while others took part in it by means of representatives.

The severe illness of Pius IV called Borromeo back to Rome; the death of the Pope set him free from the burden of the Secretaryship of State. From that time forward Borromeo was only a bishop, and as such he became by his pastoral activity a shining example, and by his seven provincial synods, and his eleven diocesan ones, the recognized law-giver of a true ecclesiastical reform in accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER XV.

Attitude of the Powers towards the Tridentine Decrees.—The Question of the Chalice for the Laity and Ecclesiastical Celibacy in Germany.

In view of the close connection between Church and State, the attitude taken up by the civil governments was of the greatest importance to the complete carrying into effect of the disciplinary decrees of Trent. It would have been in the truest interests of the State to have worked hand in hand with the ecclesiastical authority, because the removal of abuses from among the clergy was bound at the same time to be advantageous to the laity, but even where this fact was recognized, the false idea prevailed that many of the prescriptions of the Council infringed upon the legitimate powers of the State, whereas in reality nothing was attacked but those usurpations of ecclesiastical rights which had crept into the relations of Church and State in later medieval times. The difficulties which were bound to result from this began to make themselves shown immediately after the conclusion of the Council.

Among the orators of the secular princes who had been represented at the Council, acceptance of the decrees had been made in writing on December 6th, 1563, by the representatives of the Emperor Ferdinand I, the Kings of Poland and Portugal, the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, the Republic of Venice and the Swiss Catholic Cantons. Thus, the two great Catholic powers, where State interference in ecclesiastical affairs had assumed dangerous proportions, still held back: these were France and Spain.

While the French government continued to offer resistance to any recognition of the disciplinary decrees of Trent, Philip II. at last brought himself to accept them, but only with the proviso “without prejudice to his royal rights.”

In the states of Italy, in Portugal, as well as in Poland the new ecclesiastical laws were received unconditionally; if was otherwise in Switzerland and Germany.

Apart from the French intrigues, the attitude of Switzerland was based upon the fact that state interference in ecclesiastical affairs had struck such deep roots in that country that there was reason to fear that the carrying out of the reform would put serious obstacles in the way of various claims put forward by the civil power. Thus it came to pass that, in spite of their protestations of obedience, in spite of a Papal monitorium of February 15th, 1564, and of the zealous labours of Melchior Lussy, their representative at the Council, the Swiss Catholic Cantons were in no hurry to begin to carry out the Tridentine decrees. The requirements of the Church had been clearly set forth by the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Mark Sittich; he asked for the help of the secular power so that priests who were

in need of reform might not be able, through their relatives, to secure the protection of the civil authorities against their own bishop. All the efforts of Pius IV to obtain a definite promise from the five Catholic Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug were without result. In the first instance they wished to wait and see what the attitude of the other Catholic powers towards the Council would be; they next insisted that first of all the prelates, and especially the Cardinal Bishop of Constance, must obey the Council and observe the duty of residence. Answers such as these were made about the same time as the conclusion of the alliance between the five Cantons and Pius IV "with the purpose that the ship of Peter, the holy, Roman and Christian Church, and the true, ancient, and undoubted Christian Catholic faith, may be maintained, protected and defended, and the work of the holy, most Christian and most blessed Council of Trent carried into effect."

The Emperor Ferdinand had, as early as September 20th, 1563, asked from the government of Lower Austria an opinion as to the reform articles of the Council "whether they were not prejudicial to the House of Austria and its legitimate authority, liberties, rights and privileges, to its lands and peoples, and with what arguments and reasons he could oppose them; the other articles, which did not affect the laity, could, be allowed to stand." On the strength of their opinion, Ferdinand did not publish those ordinances of the Council which seemed to encroach on the power of the state.

Since the work of Catholic reform in Austria, as in the rest of Germany, was at that time only in its initial stage, the decrees of Trent were received, even by the episcopate, with a reluctance which afforded a striking contrast to the eagerness with which, for so long a time, the Council had been demanded in Germany. It is clear from the complaints of Peter Canisius how little zeal the majority of the German bishops showed for the publication and carrying out of the new decrees.

At the beginning of November, 1564, the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, had received instructions to send to each of the German bishops printed and attested copies of the Tridentine decrees, together with Papal briefs. Delfino looked for but little success from the mere sending of the briefs and decrees; he knew that he would hardly receive even a reply from the greater part of the bishops. He therefore proposed to entrust their delivery to a special pontifical envoy, who was to go from one bishop to another, and induce them to accept the Council. Delfino entrusted the carrying out of this task to his auditor, Anton Cauchius, but his mission very soon came to a lamentable end. On the road between Leipsic and Bamberg, Cauchius was attacked near Kahla in Thuringia, his retinue was cut to pieces, and he himself alone escaped with the loss of all his baggage.

They now sought in Rome for someone to take the place of Cauchius, and found him in the person of Peter Canisius, who, on account of the election of the new General of the Jesuits, and the general congregation of the Order, had been in Rome since the end of May. Francis Borgia appointed him visitor of the Jesuit colleges in Upper and Lower Germany, and on the Rhine; under cover of this mission Canisius would be able to visit the various German bishops without exciting comment. Pius IV conferred with him in person, and Canisius left the Pope full of admiration for the great kindness and charity with which the pontiff

spoke of the apostate Germans, for whose salvation he seemed prepared to make any sacrifice. At the beginning of November the new Papal envoy arrived at Dillingen, where he gave Cardinal Truchsess the brief addressed to him; thence he visited the Bishop of Wurzburg at Aschaffenburg, and at Coblenz he met the Archbishops of Mayence and Treves, travelled down the Rhine to Nimwegen, afterwards visiting from Cologne the Westphalian dioceses. He had a personal interview with the Bishop of Osnabruck at Furstenau, but contented himself with sending to the untrustworthy Bishop of Munster the copy of the Council's decrees and the Papal brief addressed to him. Nor did he visit in his episcopal city of Paderborn Rembert von Kerksenbrock, who was a zealous Catholic, but already broken down with years. The visit which he paid to Duke William of Cleves-Jülich at Dusseldorf was without results. At Cologne he was not successful in seeing the Archbishop, Friedrich von Weid, but on the other hand was able to work with success in the Catholic interest upon the town-council and the university.

As soon as he had learned with certainty of the death of Pius IV, Canisius thought that his mission had expired. In the course of his wearisome winter journey his efforts had not been restricted to the mere delivery of the decrees of the Council. He had special instructions for each of the bishops, he was to advise and encourage them, and above all he was to invite them to attend the Diet which had been summoned to Augsburg, which promised to prove of very great importance for the ecclesiastical situation in Germany, and for the attitude of the German church towards the Council of Trent. Further, he was to send to Rome, to Cardinal Mula, a report based upon his own observations of the state of affairs in the north.

If Canisius, and others of his way of thinking, looked for the salvation of the Church in Germany in a strict observance of the Tridentine decrees, and at the same time in a renewal of the old ecclesiastical legislation, in other quarters, on the contrary, it was thought that it was only by making concessions, and by meeting the views of the innovators in every possible way, that the remnants of Catholicism in Germany could be saved. In accordance with this view, Charles V, as far back as 1548, had wished in his Interim to concede communion under both kinds, and the marriage of priests. The proposals of Ferdinand I to the Council of Trent were upon the same lines. The people, so he stated in his reform libellum of 1562, did not understand very much about the more subtle doctrines of the reformers; the things that impressed them were certain more material points, which in their opinion were based upon the Holy Scriptures, namely, communion under both kinds, the right to eat meat, and the right of priests to marry. Since they thought that on these points the truth lay with the Protestants, they accepted their other doctrines as well without more ado. If, however, these three points should be conceded by the Catholics the people would not be likely to pay much attention to the other Protestant doctrines, which they did not understand. Besides, the only recommendation of the Protestant clergy, who were for the most part men of bad life, and therefore disliked, was that at any rate they lived in wedlock, whereas it was precisely the incontinence of the Catholic ecclesiastics which was unbearable in the eyes of the people.

According to Catholic teaching the Eucharist is both sacrifice and sacrament. For the Eucharist in the sacrifice of the Mass the two species are absolutely essential, and therefore, as is self-evident, for the communion of the

priest who celebrates Mass. But apart from this case they are not necessary, from the nature of the subject, for the reception of the sacrament, since the glorified Redeemer is present whole and entire under either species, nor can any divine precept of communion under both kinds be adduced. As a matter of fact, even in the very earliest Christian times, the communion of the laity is to be found under one species as well as under both.

That the Church would do well if she were once more to allow the universal use of the chalice was the opinion of many persons who were otherwise strictly Catholic, on account of the eager desire of the people for the reception of both species. The Archbishop of Prague, Anton Brus, was especially, on the strength of his own experience, a keen champion of the concession; in the great plague of 1561, so he stated at Trent, in his capacity of Imperial envoy, out of a hundred dying people hardly one had shown any desire for communion under one kind alone : the people would rather have gone without the sacrament altogether than do without the chalice. Ferdinand I. had forbidden (February 20th, 1554) the use of both species, but the insistence of the States had been so great that he had withdrawn the prohibition in 1556 and, under the influence of his advisers, had thrown himself more and more into the arms of those who wished for the chalice.

He found a powerful ally in Albert V, Duke of Bavaria. In the beginning Albert, too, had firmly refused the request for the chalice made by his States, but the concession made by the Emperor Ferdinand in 1556 had caused him, on March 31st of that year, to proclaim that communion under both kinds would not be visited with any penalties. The idea then gradually took a firmer hold on his mind that “for the preservation of our other Catholic doctrines and rites” it would be necessary to show a sympathetic comprehension and indulgence”; his request that the bishops would at any rate tolerate the administration of the chalice to the laity was not, however, granted by the two meetings of the bishops at Salzburg in 1558 and 1562. Therefore, like the Emperor Ferdinand, Albert also had recourse to the Council at Trent, where the Bavarian envoy, Augustine Paumgartner, on June 27th, 1562, declared in a solemn speech that the granting of the two species was necessary, together with some modification of the law of celibacy. His proposal, as far as the chalice was concerned, found support from the Imperial envoys, who declared that by this concession they might be able to win over the whole of Bohemia to the Church, while in Hungary, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Bavaria, Swabia, and many other parts of Germany there was a strong desire for the chalice. If only the fathers of the Council had a closer acquaintance with the state of affairs in Germany, their doubts would disappear.

But others who were well acquainted with conditions in Germany were of quite another opinion on the matter. Cardinal Otto Truchsess wrote on March 21st, 1562, to Charles Borromeo that he thought a plain refusal of the Bavarian demands was the only course to adopt, and that to entertain their request would do more harm than good. From Trent Hosius, on March 31st, 1563, advised the Duke of Bavaria to act differently, and for the most part the efforts of Ferdinand and Albert to obtain the concession of the chalice met with very little support from the German bishops. At first Peter Canisius had been of opinion that under certain circumstances communion under both kinds might be allowed to persons who in other respects were fervent Catholics, but later on he strongly advised

against any attempts to help the cause of the Church by any compromise with the innovators. Among the thousands who asked for the chalice there was scarcely one who in all other respects was a loyal son of the Church.

Even before Paumgartner's speech the Catholic teaching concerning the two species had been discussed in the Council, but, to the great disgust of the Imperial envoys, at the next solemn session on July 16th, 1562, only dogmatic decrees were dealt with, the disciplinary side of the question, and therefore the Emperor's request, being reserved for further consideration. The discussions were very heated, and opinions very divided. The Pope, who, even during the conclave had expressed himself on the subject, intended to meet the Emperor's wishes as far as possible. The Papal legates worked in the same sense, while the Imperial envoys did all they could to secure the success of their master's wishes. These same envoys declared that no subject had been dealt with at the Council with greater heat and excitement. The legates also wrote to the Pope that in none of the discussions of the Council had there been a greater diversity of opinion, or had more time been spent with so little result; the secretary had not ventured to set out the votes in definite lists, for, in the case of many of the fathers it was not known whether they had said Yes or No. At length, at the solemn session of September 17th, the whole matter was referred to the decision of the Pope.

Albert V thought that the time had now come to make representations in Rome, by means of an embassy, on behalf of the chalice for the laity, and for the admission to the ministry of the Church of married men of proved merit. The Pope received his envoys in a friendly spirit at several audiences, but finally declared that he intended to refer the whole matter back to the Council. Without, therefore, having obtained anything, the envoys set out on May 1st, 1563, for their own country, where, in the meantime, Albert had allowed a further important concession to be wrung from him. At the diet of Ingolstadt he promised the states that if, by St. John's Day, no reply or a negative reply had come from Rome, he "would take steps to secure" the use of the chalice "during Mass, and after confession, and without giving scandal to others." The demand for the chalice, he afterwards declared to the Archbishop of Salzburg, had been so violent, that he could not have avoided complying with it, except by sentence of banishment. Such a penalty was plainly out of the question, because, on account of the great number of those who demanded the concession, it would have occasioned a rising even greater and more serious than the Peasants' War.

The news of Albert's concession caused consternation in Rome and Trent; it was already feared that now the Duke of Bavaria as well would go over to the side of the innovators, and would take with him the whole of southern Germany.

By command of the Pope, Niccolò Ormaneto, who was also accredited and commissioned for the purpose at Trent by the president of the Council, was ordered to set out at once for Munich. Hosius and the nuncio at Vienna, Delfino, also addressed strong exhortations to the Duke. Albert assured them that he was not wavering in his loyalty to the ancient Church, but he nevertheless continued his efforts to obtain the chalice for the laity. In the meantime the Archbishop of Salzburg referred the matter to a meeting of the bishops, which indeed assembled at Salzburg on July 5th, 1563, but the meeting declared its intention of waiting for the outcome of the conference convoked by Ferdinand for July 15th, 1563.



The Emperor Ferdinand had not, after the decision of the Council on September 17th, 1562, given up his efforts to obtain the use of the chalice. It was his object to win over to a similar course of action the three ecclesiastical Electors, so that he might be able to put forward his requests in the name of all Catholic Germany. He had already, in the October of 1562, and at the electoral diet of Frankfort, taken some steps in that direction; a short time before he had asked the Jesuits at Vienna and Prague, and Canisius, Staphylus and Gienger, for their opinions on the question whether he ought to ask the Pope for the use of the chalice, and in what form he should put his request. After this, on December 27th, he sent from Freiburg a letter to the ecclesiastical Electors, asking them to send to Vienna, after his return to the court, learned counsellors to treat of the question of the concession of the chalice, and concerning the modification of the law of celibacy.

The proposed conference, at which delegates from Salzburg and Bavaria were present, took place at the end of July, 1563, but its results were not very satisfactory for the Emperor. Of the four archbishops, only one, the Elector of Treves, declared himself in agreement with the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria on the question of the chalice; if, at the end, in his farewell address, Ferdinand was able to state that the majority of the assembly had been in favour of communion under both kinds, this bare majority had been secured only because the representative of Salzburg had not brought with him the right to vote, and in consequence the meeting only consisted of five voters. The Imperial proposals concerning the marriage of priests had met with opposition from all four archbishops.

Ferdinand, however, did not altogether give up hope of still winning over the Electors to his plans. When the end of the Council was seen to be imminent, he once more, on November 5th, renewed his invitation to them to take part in the solemn embassy, by which he aimed at obtaining in Rome the use of the chalice for the laity, a dispensation for married clerics, and admission to the ministry of the Church of married laymen ; the Electors, however, declared that they wished first to learn the views of their suffragans. Then the Emperor resolved to proceed without them.

Deserted by the German bishops, the Emperor found an unexpected ally in the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino. At the beginning of October, 1563, when they were working in Rome for the longed-for conclusion of the Council, Delfino had been able to win over the Emperor to this by pointing out to him that even after the Council was ended it would not be difficult for him to obtain from the Pope the concessions of the chalice and the marriage of priests which he so greatly desired. He appealed to promises supposed to have been made by Cardinal Morone in the July of that year. As a matter of fact there had been no question of promises, but only of certain proposals, which the Emperor had refused, and in these proposals there had been no mention, at any rate expressly, of any mitigation of the law of celibacy. The postscript of the Imperial letter of October 4th, which gave instructions to the envoys at Trent not to oppose the conclusion of the Council, had been drafted by Delfino himself. From his pen had also come the draft of the letter in accordance with which the Imperial envoys in Rome were to express to the Pope the expectation that he would abide by the "promises" of

Morone. In his reports to Rome, however, the nuncio carefully concealed the advice he had given to the Emperor.

The embassy which Ferdinand I proposed to send to Rome immediately after the close of the Council in January, 1564, did not meet with the approval of Delfino. The nuncio pointed out that the Emperor would do better to express his wishes to the Pope in writing. A solemn embassy, which would have to set forth its demands in public consistory, and give all sorts of reasons, would cause a sensation ; the Pope would have to ask the advice of the College of Cardinals, there would be long discussions, in which not only the Cardinals would have to be heard, but also theologians like the Jesuits and “other learned men who were equally scrupulous and rigid” and the Cardinals and theologians were for the most part opposed to the concession of the chalice and to the marriage of priests. The Emperor allowed himself to be persuaded all the more easily because he naturally thought that the nuncio was acting under the secret instructions of the Pope. Albert V as well at once agreed to this course.

On February 14th 1564, the necessary letters were drawn up to the Imperial envoys in Rome, to Cardinal Morone and to the Pope. Albert V had already on February 5th identified himself with the Emperor’s wishes in letters to Cardinals Moi one and Borromeo and to his ambassador, Arco. In his letter to the Pope Ferdinand states that it was his zeal for the Church which had led him to ask the Council for the use of the chalice, and not any wish for temporal advantage, or because he personally was scandalized at the custom hitherto in use, but because, by the concession of the chalice, the conversion of many who had fallen or wandered away would be made possible, and the way prepared for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity. He had therefore continued his negotiations with the prelates and ministers of the Church, as well as with Duke Albert, and these had approved of the aims of the princes, and had promised to carry out whatever the Pope should decide upon. Relying upon the hints of Mon me and Borromeo, and on the statements of Delfino, he now submitted in his own name and that of Duke Albert his request that the Pope would come to the assistance of the German nation, a thing which, in the opinion of many well-informed Catholics, could be accomplished by means of the concession of the chalice; the incalculable advantage of this must be manifest to everyone. After careful consideration with pious and learned men, well acquainted with conditions in Germany, he called attention to the fact that, in order to save the small remnants of the Catholic religion and to stamp out heresy it would be a great help to leave their wives to the married priests, and where there was a lack of priests to admit suitable laymen to the service of the altar and to the administration of the sacraments. This he asked in his own name and that of Duke Albert. In a postscript the Emperor expressed his complete confidence that his wishes would be granted without delay. The letter to Morone especially recommended the question of the marriage of priests, as communion under both kinds would certainly not offer any difficulties. In the instructions to the Imperial envoys were given the names of the bishops to whom Ferdinand desired that the faculty to allow the chalice should be given : these were the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Bremen, Gran, and Prague, and the Bishops of Naum burg and Gurk.

The unprincipled nuncio had gone so far in his obsequiousness to the Emperor as to have himself drafted all three letters ! It is no wonder that, after

many other proofs of his devotion, Delfino should have been successful, thanks to the Emperor's intervention, in attaining his eagerly desired aim, the Cardinal's hat, though, on the other hand, it explains why this and similar happenings led the Pope to issue his severe decree of May 18th, 1565, against the servility of the nuncios. The reports which Delfino sent to Borromeo at the same time as the dispatch of the Imperial letters, are expressed as though he were a mere observer and chronicler of what was happening. Certain points, however, are cleverly brought out. "I am informed," so we read in one of these reports, "that the people are so incensed against the clergy on account of the refusal of the chalice that it is feared that at the death of the Emperor all Catholics will be banished," he hints that if it is not decided to allow communion under both kinds, it is possible that Ferdinand and Albert will seek for a way out of the difficulty for themselves.

Until March 15th Ferdinand hoped for a favourable reply, but in spite of his earlier promises the Pope could not come to a decision so quickly. In the consistory of March 1st he spoke about the Emperor's requests : every day, he said, a number of Catholics were passing over to the heretics from a desire for the chalice, the granting of which, in the opinion of Ferdinand, was the only way to stop the apostasy. The state of the world showed a sad picture indeed, heresy was in the ascendancy everywhere; only Spain and Italy had kept themselves free of it, and these only partially, as could be seen in Venice and Naples. He was therefore of opinion that they should not reject the Emperor's proposals without further thought; on the other hand it seemed hard to break away from the ancient custom of the Church, especially as the successful issue of the concessions was not certain. In accordance with the advice of the Cardinals he would now commit the consideration of the whole matter to a commission of their body. In days gone by it would have been possible to ignore such demands, but now the number of the heretics had increased to such an extent that only a tenth part of all Christians were Catholics.

From the whole tone of this speech it is clear that Pius IV was not averse to the concession of the chalice; as the Spanish ambassador states, he said in a public consistory that he had already promised the chalice in order to end the Council, but that opinion in the College of Cardinals was not favourable to the wishes of the Emperor. Besides this the Spanish ambassador, Luis de Requesens, spared no pains in working against them; on March 7th, the day before the decisive consistory, he visited between twelve and fifteen Cardinals in the endeavour to prejudice them against the concession of the chalice by hinting at the scandal which would be taken by the whole Catholic world if the Pope were to yield, by pointing to the aversion which was felt even by the German ecclesiastical princes, who merely did not say plainly what they thought about it, and to the general danger of a policy of compromise; he reminded them of the disastrous experiences they had had with the Greeks and Bohemians, and of the treachery of the heretics, who were asking for the chalice from any motives rather than those of piety. One concession would open the way to others; what was granted to Bavaria and Bohemia could not be refused to other Catholics. At least they must not come to a decision hastily, and the whole question must be well weighed by learned men. On the whole Requesens found the opinion of the Cardinals so averse to the concession that three-fourths of them would have been opposed to the Pope if he had openly laid the matter before them in the consistory.

As a matter of fact the Pope gave up the idea of proposing the question of the chalice for immediate solution. For the time being he only proposed to send to Germany a legate with very wide powers. Morone was chosen for this task, though he, for his part, tried by every means in his power to escape this thankless task.

Under these circumstances, it was only to be expected that, at the decisive consistory of March 8th, the opposing views would be hotly debated. The Pope, however, thought that he would be able to prevent this. At the commencement of the consistory he caused the three nephews of Paul III and ten other Cardinals who had not taken part in the secret sessions of the preceding days, to take their places near the throne, saying to them that he had decided to send Cardinal Morone to Germany, in order that he might work for the carrying out of the Council of Trent, and attempt, in the approaching Diet, to win over to the Catholic cause one or more of the Protestant princes. As to the question of the chalice and the Emperor's demands, he said not a word.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese then began to speak. It was not wise, in his opinion, to send a legate to Germany. Similar missions had always turned out disastrously for the Apostolic See; the presence of a legate at the Diet would lead to religious discussions, and this was dangerous, because the Protestants were in a majority there. Therefore even Paul III, who at the beginning of his pontificate had sent many legates to Germany, had afterwards abandoned this policy. To the remark of the Pope that the present times were very different from those of Paul III, Farnese replied that it was just because the present times were so much worse that it was especially unwise to send a legate. Even if he were armed with the power to grant all the things asked for by the Emperor, much harm would result from this. Thereupon Farnese began to set forth the arguments against the concession of the chalice.

But the Pope cut him short; that subject was not under discussion at present; the legate was being sent for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council; as to the Emperor's demands, he himself, the Pope, would decide as God should inspire him. The decision belonged to him as Pope, and it had been left in his hands by the Council: "We, not you," he added passionately, "have to render an account to God in this matter." At these words the Cardinals who were standing near the throne made it plain by signs that they very willingly left the whole responsibility to him.

Farnese raised no further objections, but his brother of Florence, Ranuccio at once returned to the burning question. He had heard, he said, from respected and trustworthy men, that not a few of the Catholic bishops of Germany, and among them two of the Electors, had worked at the Council to induce the fathers to resist the concession of the chalice, on the ground that it would be a mortal blow to the Catholic religion in Germany. The Pope replied that he also had heard the same thing, but that changed times called for new measures, and he would obtain further information from Germany itself. Many of the Council, moreover, had changed their opinion, and in the end several of the Spaniards had declared themselves in favour of the concession. "With regard to that," Ranuccio replied, "I have heard just the opposite," and when Pius IV. appealed to the legates of the Council as his authority, the Cardinal answered that he was quite aware, of what

the legates said, but he noticed that many prelates of all the various nations gave quite another report on that very point, and had promised to furnish proofs to the Pope himself. Pius put an end to the discussion by remarking that he intended to trust his legates.

Then the Pope began a long speech. He said: "Now that the Council is happily ended, our most important task is to see that it is carried into effect. I therefore intend to send legates to all the princes, first of all to Germany, then to France, and finally to Spain. The Emperor, who is so full of good intentions, is seriously ill and near to death; we must therefore seize upon the opportunity to deal with a prince who is so well disposed and so deeply religious. As legate for Germany I have appointed Morone, in whose prudence and acceptability to the princes I have full confidence. I have arrived at this decision in secret consistory, because it has not been possible to treat of the whole matter in public ; my predecessors acted in the same way. Paul III often said that nobody but a heretic could deny that the Pope has the right to decide all questions himself. In order to keep Catholics in the Church and to bring back heretics to the fold, I am prepared to make any concessions which do not involve injury to the faith, to religion and the honour of God. The present times, indeed, are worse than they were under Paul III and Julius III, when France was altogether free from heresy, Germany contained more Catholics, Spain was united to Germany, and England under the rule of a Catholic queen. But the difficulties do not dismay me; my predecessors were not able to bring the Council to an end, but I have succeeded in doing so. Everything that has not been done before is not necessarily to be rejected for that reason. I intend to meet the heretics in a spirit of gentleness; if they act hypocritically they will deceive themselves, but not God." Turning to Morone, he begged him to accept the burden imposed on him for the honour of God and the salvation of Christendom.

Morone replied that it was his duty to be silent and to obey. As to the prospects of his legation he believed that the Pope, in virtue of his higher enlightenment, could see things which others could not see, and that a happy issue was possible. The difficulties, however, were so great that he almost despaired of being able to accomplish anything. He gave expression to this opinion now because men were wont to form their judgment after the event. But as far as he was concerned he would spare no pains to do what the Pope required of him.

Pius IV replied with a few words of encouragement. If not all, at least some might be brought back to the old religion. The Elector of Brandenburg, for example, wore the crucifix which the Pope had sent to him, he had treated the Papal nuncios with courtesy, he had accepted a pontifical brief, and had blamed those who rejected them; nor was it necessary to despair altogether of Duke Augustus of Saxony. The situation in Germany had changed for the better at any rate in so far that the heretics were no longer united, but broken up into many sects.

Morone then had to leave the consistory, and the Cardinals voted upon the question whether Morone should go as legate to Germany for the carrying out of the Council. No opposition was raised, though several took the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the demands of the Emperor.

At the end of his report of this consistory Cardinal Gambara states that he has written it all down thus minutely in order that later on the opinion of the Cardinals as to Morone's legation might be known. If the Pope had submitted the Emperor's demands for discussion, they would certainly not have agreed to them. He concludes with the somewhat malicious remark that the Pope, who was unable to use his right arm on account of a bad attack of gout, had given his blessing to the new legate with his left hand.

However interesting the consistory may be as giving a picture of the feeling at the time, it had nevertheless very little importance as far as the course of events was concerned. The mission of Morone never took place; the Emperor's advisers had become sufficiently aware of his diplomatic skill during the course of the negotiations at Innsbruck in the previous year, and they at once decided that he must at all costs be kept away from Austria : " this Roman craftsman with his keen and penetrating shafts, who was so subtle and wonderfully trained *ex longo rerum usu*." They realized that they were no match for him and they also feared the effect of long negotiations upon the life of the sick Emperor. In the evening of the very day on which, early in the morning, news had come of Morone's mission, Ferdinand told the nuncio Delfino that the Protestant princes feared lest the Pope should form a Catholic league for the carrying out of the Council. The arrival of a legate might furnish them with a pretext for forming a counter-league of their own, to which course they would undoubtedly be urged by Elizabeth of England and by France, and the consequence of which would be the complete destruction of the Catholic religion in Germany. An Imperial letter to Arco on the 26th, and another from Delfino on March 27th, conveyed this intelligence to Rome. Bor-romeo replied to the nuncio in Venice on April 19th, that Morone's mission would not take place, that the Pope had already granted the chalice to the laity, but that as far as the marriage of priests was concerned Pius IV had never made any promises on the subject; in the meantime the Emperor was requested to submit his proposals more definitely.

It was true that, under the date of April 16th, the Pope had caused briefs for the more important bishops of Germany to be prepared, containing the concession of the chalice. This, however, was not granted unconditionally nor universally. In the introduction of the briefs mention is made of the assurances made by Ferdinand and Albert that the remnants of the Catholic religion in Germany would disappear altogether if the chalice were not allowed. If the bishop to whom the brief was addressed could conscientiously say that this was really the case, then the Pope gave him power to appoint certain priests to give communion under both kinds. On the part of the communicants it was taken for granted that they were in communion with the Roman Church, that they had been to confession, and they must believe that the same is contained under one species as under two, and that the Roman Church was not in error in giving the Holy Eucharist under one kind alone. The concession was not to apply to the non-German parts of the German dioceses. At the same time the bishops were given the important power of reconciling, either in person or by their delegates, heretics who either publicly or in private had abjured their errors.

For the moment the Pope kept these briefs a secret; in the consistory of April 14th he let nothing transpire about them. The excitement which had been aroused by the attitude of the Pope towards the concession of the chalice had by no means

died down, and during the weeks that had elapsed the Spanish ambassador had caused a theologian to draw up a memorial against the concession which had been circulated among the Roman prelates.<sup>1</sup> Even in Germany the Pope's willingness to give way on the matter had caused as much surprise as though Pius IV had become a Lutheran. Canisius, who reported what was being said to Rome, was himself of opinion that the concession of the chalice would throw the remainder of the German Church into hopeless confusion; the conditions made in Rome would not be observed, nor, despite the concession, would the authority of the Church or the Pope be recognized. Even when the pontifical briefs had arrived, jokes were current on the subject because the permanent agent in the provinces for the granting of the chalice and for the Confession of Augsburg bore the family name of Teufel (devil) and because on the day that the briefs arrived a frost had almost destroyed the whole of the grape vintage in the district of Vienna.

On May 9th the Papal briefs to the three ecclesiastical Electors, to the Archbishops of Salzburg, Prague, Gran, Magdeburg and Bremen, and to the Bishops of Naumburg and Gurk were in the hands of Delfino. The nuncio proposed to publish the pontifical concession at first only in Upper and Lower Austria and in Bavaria. His suggestion was accepted and a beginning was made of the work of promulgation on June 18th, at Vienna, when Urban, Bishop of Gurk, and administrator of the diocese of Vienna, read and explained the brief in the Cathedral of St. Stephen.

The success of the promulgation seemed at first to surpass even the most sanguine hopes. As Delfino wrote to Rome, at Vienna two-thirds of the Lutherans and others suspected of heresy declared themselves to be Catholics. There is no doubt, he again wrote on November 20th, 1564, that in Vienna and the small diocese of Vienna the concession of the chalice is having a beneficial effect; every day the number of those who assist at the sermons and divine offices is increasing. After so encouraging a beginning the briefs addressed to them were sent to the other ecclesiastical provinces in June, while similar concessions were asked for, and immediately granted by the Pope for the dioceses of Olmutz, Breslau, Weiner-Neustadt and Laibach. Anton Brus boasted, when he received his brief, that the kingdom of Bohemia was restored to life; the Archbishop of Gran also looked for great fruit for the Catholic religion in Hungary from the concession of the chalice.

It was with great satisfaction that the Pope was able on July 14th, 1564, to give the Cardinals the first official notification of the concession of the chalice which he had made some time before. The Emperor, he said, had represented to him that without some such concession Germany would become, not merely heretical, but pagan. It had not been in public, but quite in secret, that he had held consultations on the subject with certain Cardinals and former members of the Council, and he had done this in order that the expression of opinions might be more free, for he knew well with how many artifices and threats the concession of the chalice would be opposed. He attached great importance to the opinion of the Emperor, who at that moment was lying on his death-bed, and who was animated with a feeling for religion which could not have been more pure or supernatural in a monk or a Jesuit. For Ferdinand I, indeed, the Papal concession was a great consolation in his last illness. On May 17th, he had a letter written to Rome, in which he said that no Papal utterance had ever given him such joy as

the brief about the chalice. He died on July 25th, 1564, with the consciousness that he had rendered a last great service to that ecclesiastical unity which he had always aimed at so zealously.

But it was not everywhere that the brief about the chalice was received with enthusiasm. At Cologne, the strong attitude taken by the University prevented the archbishop from carrying the concession into effect, though he was himself in favour of it; the University caused to be drawn up and gave its sanction to a memorandum written by the Jesuit Coster, against the two species, and obliged all its theologians to accept it. At Treves the municipal council demanded from everyone a certificate from their parochial authorities that they had communicated under one kind alone. At Mayence too the concession of the chalice had no tangible results. It was only after long negotiations that the Archbishop of Salzburg agreed to the Imperial wishes, and even then the meeting of the bishops of the province of Salzburg limited in every possible way the administration of the chalice. In the immediate neighbourhood of Vienna the distinguished Christian Naponaus Radiducius, Bishop of Weiner-Neustadt, at length, it is true, published the Papal indult, but in practice refused to administer the two species. The Jesuits in Vienna were bound to allow the publication in their church of the brief about the chalice, but they insisted so strictly on the conditions laid down by the Pope that at first there were none, and afterwards very few, who received the two species at their hands.

For the most part the enthusiasm among the Catholics for the communion of the laity under both kinds disappeared. It is true that its defenders, in the face of all the arguments of the theologians, had appealed to their knowledge of conditions in Germany, but the event tended to justify the wisdom of those who, equally relying on their own experience, looked for nothing but confusion and harm from any rapprochement with the innovators. As early as 1565 Draskovich said to Commendone that he repented of having worked with so much zeal for the chalice for the laity in his capacity as Imperial envoy at the Council of Trent, because the concession, when it had at last been obtained, had brought about nothing but harm. Commendone wrote to Cardinal Borromeo from Petrikau that experience in the districts bordering on Poland showed that the concession had done more harm than good; the conditions laid down by the Pope had not been observed, and the consequences had been scandal and confusion. He was trying by every means in his power to prevent the King of Poland from asking for the chalice, as he was being urged to do in many quarters. On November 10th, 1564, Lainez, the General of the Jesuits wrote, that he was being informed from all parts of Germany that the concession of the chalice was doing more harm than good to religion, and that the heretics had only been rendered more insolent by it. To the question of Cardinal Hosius, as to what results the movement in favour of the chalice was producing in Bavaria, Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg replied that as far as he himself was concerned the Pope had not ordered the use of the two species, and that he did not intend to introduce it until he had first made known in Rome his reasons for opposing it. The Duke of Bavaria, who at first had hoped for great results from the concession of the chalice, had entirely changed his point of view, and was saying openly that the chalice should not be allowed to anyone.

It was true that from being the champion of the chalice Albert V had now become its strong opponent. The mission of Ormaneto and the discouraging letter



of Hosius had already to a great extent cooled his enthusiasm<sup>1</sup> More exact information in the years 1563 and 1564 showed that the number of those who wished for the chalice was by no means so great as might have been supposed from the hasty estimate of those who spoke on behalf of the concession, and that those who did were, for the most part, only to be found in a majority in the neighbourhood of Protestant districts. The pontifical concession of the chalice was not promulgated in Bavaria, and the two species were only administered in individual cases, and secretly, and then only in certain localities and with strict limitations. A few years later the Duke altogether forbade the chalice to the laity.

In the meantime, in Austria, they not only held firmly to the chalice, but also sought to obtain a relaxation of the law of celibacy. Ferdinand I had himself written to Rome on June 17th, 1564, that the concession of the two species was not sufficient by itself, unless those priests who had taken wives were also allowed to retain them. It was not without reason that Germany had always advanced these two claims in conjunction with each other, because the concession of the chalice had always been advocated and defended for the most part by those who, despite their priesthood, had taken wives, and afterwards, from fear of ecclesiastical penalties, had turned against the Church and her prelates. Moreover, it was impossible for the bishops in many districts to provide the people with unmarried priests, and they were therefore forced to leave many cures vacant, and the people were in consequence forced to turn to the ministers. Finally the concession of the chalice was fettered with certain conditions, but what was the use of imposing conditions if there was no one to explain them to the people or insist upon their observance? The Emperor therefore asked that priests who were already married might be dispensed, and that it should be allowed, in places where there was a scarcity of priests, that married laymen should be admitted to receive orders.

On September 19th, 1564, Maximilian II renewed the demands of his father, which demands were also presented at the same time in the name of the Archduke Charles, on behalf of his territories of Styria and Camiola,<sup>1</sup> while the Archduke Ferdinand would have nothing to do with the marriage of priests as far as the Tyrol and the Swabian provinces of Austria were concerned. It was once more the nuncio, Delfino, who, in gross violation of his duties as the representative of the Pope, drafted this letter which was so displeasing to Pius IV, while in his other communications with Rome, under the guise of a mere narration of events, he caused the Imperial wishes to appear in the best possible light.

In consequence of these demands the Pope found himself in a very embarrassing position. He had already had disastrous experience of the policy of concession in the matter of the chalice, but on the other hand it was very dangerous openly to oppose a prince of such doubtfully Catholic sentiments as Maximilian, since opposition might have the effect of provoking a new and worse Interim at the approaching diet. Pius IV therefore sought to gain time. It was only on January 20th, 1565, that he appointed a commission of Cardinals to discuss the Emperor's demands. When, in March, this had led to no results, and the Emperor was still pressing for a definite reply, the number of the Cardinals on the commission was reduced from eighteen to five ; these latter began their deliberations on April 14th and on May 12th they advised the Pope as a first step to send nuncios to the Emperor. On May 24th Archbishop Lionardo Marini and

Pietro Guicciardini the Auditor of the Rota, set out for Vienna in this capacity. Before this Pius IV had found a powerful ally in Philip II of Spain, who, in a letter of March 12th, 1565, had charged Cardinal Pacheco to oppose the requests of Maximilian by every means in his power. The Pope, however, had not perfect confidence in the Spanish king, for he thought that Philip wished to drive him to a breach with the Emperor so that Spain might remain the only Catholic power, and he thus might be able to do as he liked with the Pope. In June, 1565, Philip II sent Pedro de Avila to Rome for the express purpose of raising objections against the granting of the Emperor's demands.

In the meantime the two nuncios in Vienna were in an embarrassing position. According to their instructions, it was their duty to try and make the Emperor change his mind, and to this end they were to point out that the Pope had to concern himself with the whole world and not with Germany alone, and that he could not inflict a grave injury on the whole of the Church so as to save a single country. There were the very gravest reasons for the celibacy of the clergy: the ancient custom of the Latin Church, dating from the time of the Apostles, and the dignity of the priesthood, which, on account of its close connection with the Holy Eucharist and the other sacraments, required virginity. If this concession were made in Germany, it would very soon be asked for in France and Flanders, and then in Spain and Italy, for which reason King Philip in particular had taken up a very decided attitude of opposition to the concession of marriage to the priests of Germany. The Emperor must further remember what difficulties this very request had occasioned at the time of the Interim and at the Council of Trent. Lastly, it was a mistaken policy to try and further religion by making concessions to sensuality, all the more so as it was generally felt in Rome that the same thing would happen with the marriage of priests as had happened with the concession of the chalice, which had caused scandal and loss of piety rather than edification, and in no case had produced the obvious advantages which had been promised. It was therefore much better to procure celibate priests, either from Germany itself or from elsewhere ; once the necessary pressure was brought to bear, there was reason to hope that many such would be found. Should the Emperor reply that the needs of Germany called for prompt measures and no delay, the Pope undertook to send a certain number of celibate priests, who, even though they did not know the language of the country, would be able to be of assistance so that by means of the seminaries good German priests could be trained. Since they had already waited 30 or 40 years, they could certainly wait for another three or four. Should the Emperor not accept all this, they might hold out to him the possibility of the renewal of the concessions granted by Paul III and Julius III to Charles V, though they had never been carried into effect, namely that dispensations might be given in individual cases for married priests. If this should not be enough, the nuncios were to declare expressly that the Pope could not, nor was it lawful for him to do so, introduce into the Church so great a change, except in the case where the necessity for it was altogether obvious, and where extraordinary advantages would result, as for example the conversion of the whole of Germany, and when both the one and the other were proved in a quite incontestable way. Moreover the Pope could not effect such a change surreptitiously, but he would have to consult all the prelates who had German subjects; for example, he would have to obtain exact information as to the number of celibate priests, and of those who wished to marry in each district, so that the remedy might be made commensurate with the need.

For a time it seemed as though these arguments were not without their effect on the Emperor. Some of the things laid before him by Marini were entirely new to Maximilian, because he had never discussed his plans with the theologians. In any case it is a fact that on July 28th he wrote to Arco to beg the Pope to delay in coming to a definite decision. But Maximilian very soon reverted to his former wishes. On September nth, Marini and Guicciardini left Vienna without having accomplished anything. One thing alone had their influence at Vienna helped to bring about ; the double-dealing nuncio, Delfino, who at last, on June 26th, 1565, received the coveted cardinal's hat, and who could not therefore any longer remain as nuncio, was, in consequence of a letter from the Spanish ambassador, recalled from his post even before the approaching Diet. The Emperor was thus no longer under the influence of this intriguing man, who had not only held out hopes of the certainty of the concession of the marriage of priests, but had also shown himself ready to accept other very strange concessions. It seemed to the Papal legates that he and Arco had fostered the marriage of priests even more than the Emperor himself.

Face to face with the renewed demands of Maximilian, the Pope endeavoured again to delay a decision. In the first place he replied to the insistence of the ambassador that he must await the return of Marini and Guicciardini, and when they had arrived on November 9th, he said that he wished to hear the views of Delfino before giving a definite reply. While he was still delaying, Pius IV died.

The matter of the publication and carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent had been quite pushed into the background by the question of the chalice for the laity and the marriage of priests. The hopes of a favourable outcome of this matter had become much less bright when, with the accession of Maximilian II, the reins of government had fallen into the hands of a prince who, confused and obscure in his religious sentiments, showed himself in the most varying aspects, and, in many important doctrines no longer took his stand upon the firm ground of the Catholic Church. When, in the October of 1564, Delfino proposed to Maximilian that he should publish the decrees of Trent by an Imperial edict, he made profuse declarations which Visconti summed up very aptly by saying that, in view of the existing conditions in Germany the Emperor refused to comply with anything of the kind. It was quite in accordance with this that he unceremoniously forbade the publication of the decrees in Hungary, for which purpose the Archbishop of Gran had summoned a meeting of the Hungarian bishops for April 23rd, 1564. Whereas the Council of Trent had exacted from the professors of Catholic universities a sworn promise to teach in the Catholic sense, Maximilian had hardly mounted the throne before, in violation of the charter of foundation of the University of Vienna, he ordained that the profession of the Catholic creed was no longer necessary for appointment, but that it was enough if the candidate declared that he was a Christian Catholic.

Under these circumstances the only hope of improvement lay in a bold stand being made by the episcopate. But at first the Austrian bishops were by no means in a hurry to reform their clergy in accordance with the decrees of the Council, or to provide for a healthy rising generation by the establishment of seminaries for priests. The Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, Daniel von Brendel, endeavoured in 1564 to carry out the wishes of the Council by obtaining a

pontifical decree empowering him to endow the Jesuit college at Mayence and a seminary for poor boys, which he intended to entrust to the direction of the Jesuits.

It was of great importance for Germany that little by little Bavaria set to work on the lines of a Catholic restoration. It was a characteristic step in this direction when Duke Albert, on September 5th, 1564, entered into an agreement with the Archbishop of Salzburg and the other bishops for the carrying out of the decrees formulated at Trent and confirmed by the Pope. A Bavarian bishop, Martin von Schaumberg of Eichstatt, was the one who, by establishing a seminary, in November, 1564, won the glory of having been the first to found in Germany an institution of the kind prescribed by the Council. Side by side with this there was in the college of St. Jerome, founded at Dillingen as far back as 1549 by Otto von Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, an institution which, in its aims and organization, corresponded to the seminaries required by the Council.

CHAPTER XVI

State of Religion in Poland.

Conditions in the kingdom of Poland, as in Germany, were the cause of no little anxiety to Pius IV. In Greater Poland and Lithuania the teaching of Luther and the community of the Bohemian Brothers had obtained a great hold, while the same thing was true in Little Poland of the doctrines of Calvin, who kept up an active correspondence with his adherents in the distant east. The real strength of the new opinions in the kingdom of the Jagellons lay among the “Schlachta” or smaller landed gentry, who saw in them the best means of completely overthrowing the clergy, as they had already succeeded in doing with the peasant and citizen classes. The easy-going king, Sigismund Augustus, allowed things to take their course, the more so as he was, just at the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV, completely occupied by the danger which threatened him from the Russian Czar, Ivan the Terrible. In order to meet this danger he betook himself to Livonia, where he remained during the whole of 1560. He therefore took no active part in the negotiations for the assembly of the Council, though he put no obstacles in the way of the Holy See in this matter. At the beginning of March, 1560, he had sent an envoy to Rome for the *obedientia*, and was thus one of the first among the secular princes to perform this act.

It never, however, entered the head of Sigismund Augustus that the ceremony of the *obedientia* made it incumbent upon the bearer of the crown to protect the Church. The final solution of the Livonian question, when exactly the same thing occurred as had happened in Prussia in 1525, showed how little the Polish king had the interests of the Church at heart. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Gotthard von Ketteler, returned to the lay state, and as Duke of Curland and Semgallen became the vassal of the King of Poland, who, on his side, promised to leave the country its independent constitution and full liberty to profess the Confession of Augsburg.

Pius IV had appointed the Bishop of Camerino, Bernardo Bongiovanni, as nuncio in Poland, in April, 1560. He was instructed to warn the king not to allow religious disputations, to prevent anything prejudicial to the Catholic Church at the approaching Diet, to encourage the Catholics to hold fast to the faith, and above all to urge the bishops to the zealous fulfilment of their duties, and the energetic defence of the rights of the Church. In a letter of August 29th, 1560, Bongiovanni describes to Cardinal Morone the sad state of affairs which he had found in Poland. He paints in strong colours the despotic and selfish attitude of the nobles, who had led their vassals away from the old faith, and the activity of the new preachers, of whom some called themselves Lutherans, others Sacramentarians, others Schwenkfeldians and followers of Servetus. The disunion among these preachers was very great and violent disputes took place at

their meetings. Bongiovanni did not share the fear of many good Catholics that the king might fall away from the faith; he thought that Sigismund Augustus would maintain his previous attitude of allowing everyone to believe what he pleased, but that he would personally remain true to the Catholic Church. The nuncio looked upon the furtherance of the sending of representatives to the Council as his principle task, as well as the strengthening of the Catholic senators in their goodwill with a view to the future Diet, and the winning back of the heretics, whom he looked on as being less obstinate than those in Germany.

It did not escape the notice of Bongiovanni how much the king's attitude injured the interests of the Church. In his reports to Rome he deplors that Sigismund Augustus should be on friendly terms with the heretics, and allow them full liberty to draw people away from the Catholic Church. At the outset the nuncio absolutely condemned the protection which the king accorded to Jakob Uchanski, who was suspected of heresy, but had been designated for the bishopric of Kujavia, although this had not been confirmed in Rome. This was quite in accordance with the instructions which the nuncio had received from Pius IV., who in this matter took up exactly the same point of view as his predecessor. It is therefore very difficult to understand how Bongiovanni should very soon have allowed himself to be completely won over by Uchanski. He absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures and did not rest until his confirmation as Bishop of Kujavia had been obtained. He even went further! When Przerembski, Archbishop of Gnesen, died in January, 1562, Bongiovanni assisted his protegee to obtain this high and influential position. The nuncio, who was before everything else a diplomatist and politician, hoped to effect more by mildness than by strict measures. His attitude towards the popular but quite unreliable Uchanski caused great scandal to zealous Catholics, and on this account they desired the appointment of a new nuncio. The relations between Bongiovanni and Uchanski seem at last to have given scandal in Rome as well, and the overthrow of Catholic interests at the Diet at Petrikau in 1562, made the nuncio's position untenable.

Uchanski showed, in the immediate future, how little fitted he was to fill the highest position in the Church in Poland. The new primate, brought up as he had been among schismatics and uniats, hoped to gain everything by means of concessions in the matters of communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the introduction of the Polish language into the liturgy. "By the help of all his arts, among which the intention to deceive and to take people unawares played no small part," he aimed at holding a national synod. Fortunately for the Polish Church, Pius IV clearly recognized the threatened danger, and after the recall of Bongiovanni at Easter, 1563, he appointed the energetic and shrewd Giovanni Commendone as nuncio in Poland, who, together with the distinguished Cardinal Hosius, successfully frustrated such dangerous proposals. The petty artifices of Uchanski, no less than the activities of the innovators were powerless before these two "men made as it were of steel and granite." They became the saviours of the gravely threatened Church in Poland.

Commendone, who started from Venice on October 15th, 1563, passed through Pressburg, where he presented himself before the Emperor, Ferdinand I, and King Maximilian II. He arrived in Cracow on November 21st, and from thence he hurried on to Warsaw where the Diet was opened on December 6th. The nuncio was accompanied, in addition to his secretary, Antonio Maria

Graziani, by two other learned men, Federigo Pendasio and Paolo Emilio Giovannini. The sad condition of religion in Poland, and the ineffectual resistance which the disunited and weak episcopate offered to the dissemination of the new doctrines is evident, both from the account drawn up by Giovannini and from the reports of Commendone. The opposite views of Uchanski, the Archbishop of Gnesen, and Padniewski, the Bishop of Cracow, became evident immediately upon the arrival of Commendone. The latter wished the nuncio to be received by the king in a public audience, the former only privately. Even in his first audiences Commendone had plenty of opportunities of realizing not only the disunion of the episcopate, but also the weakness of Sigismund Augustus. Friendly though his reception of the Pope's representative was, he nevertheless showed but little inclination to take any active part in securing the repeal of the decree issued in the Diet of the preceding year, limiting episcopal jurisdiction. Commendone could obtain little more than promises for the future, though he built great hopes on the influence of Hosius, whom the king had invited to Lomza alter the close of the Diet (May 1st, 1564). On this occasion Hosius did not fail in displaying the greatest zeal and eloquence. Among other matters, his expostulations were directed against the proposal, which was now again being put forward, of holding a national council, to which the dissenters should be invited. Hosius endeavoured to convince the king that the ecclesiastical confusion would only be increased by such a course, and declared that he would be unable to take part in any such assembly. He explained that only an ecumenical council, such as that at Trent, could decide on matters concerning the Catholic faith, but not a provincial or a national council. As the sectarians had repudiated any such council, they would only attend in order to dispute, and where could such disputation lead, if the decrees of an ecumenical council were to become a subject of controversy?. It was therefore the duty of the princes to carry out the decrees of Trent.

The most important question for ecclesiastical conditions in Poland was touched upon in these words. Upon its solution Commendone held consultations with Hosius whom he visited on May 20th, 1564, at Frauenberg, and with whom he stayed for two months. In July, Commendone, who was then with Hosius at Heilsberg, received a letter from Borromeo, of March 24th, to which were attached five copies of the printed decrees of the Council, the acceptance of which in Poland he was instructed to bring about. Commendone, as well as Hosius, was convinced that this could not be done in a private audience; on the other hand it did not seem advisable to deliver the decrees to the Diet, as many Protestants, with whom Uchanski, who was aiming at a national council, had secret relations, had a seat there. In spite of this, however, Commendone at length decided upon the latter course, as the other might lead to even greater complications. The king, however, must first be won over. The nuncio, who had won the favour of the king by his prudent attitude, hoped to be successful in accomplishing this by acting with both circumspection and promptitude. At the beginning of August he appeared at Parczow, where the king was holding a national assembly. In a long audience on August 7th, Commendone set before him the great importance of accepting the Tridentine decrees. The king listened attentively, and promised to give him an answer after he had deliberated with his counsellors; immediately afterwards Commendone was himself summoned into their presence. His surprise at this was very great, but he quickly recovered himself and explained his request in eloquent terms. He set forth in detail the reasons for and the work of the Council of Trent, the necessity for a supreme authority in matters of faith, and

the confusion which had sprung from the setting up of “new and false papacies at Geneva, Wittenberg and elsewhere”; he also spoke of the evil effects of the religious innovations on political conditions, of which he had had personal experience in Germany, France, and England. His most earnest wish was that Poland might enjoy a happier fate, and with this he delivered the decrees, which alone would afford a remedy in the existing state of confusion. The stirring words of Commendone, and his skill in bringing out the advantages of the re-establishment of ecclesiastical unity for the domestic peace and the national greatness of Poland did not fail to make a great impression. When, after his speech, he was about modestly to withdraw, the king begged him to remain, saying that since he was ignorant of the Polish language, his presence would not interfere with the freedom of the discussion. Uchanski then proposed a further consideration of the question, but Sigismund Augustus declared that for his part it seemed to him fitting that they should accept the decrees of the Council at once. The reply, which was communicated in Latin by the vice-chancellor of the kingdom, declared that the king accepted the decrees of the holy Council of Trent, and would take care that they were carried into effect throughout the whole kingdom. On August 7th, 1564, there appeared two royal edicts, which, only partially it is true, met the wishes of Commendone. The one set people on their guard against the new doctrines, while the other banished all foreign religious innovators.<sup>1</sup> The discredited Bernardino Ochino did not wait for their publication, but left Cracow at the beginning of September, 1564.

The acceptance of the decrees by the king was not enough, as Commendone very quickly realized, to give them the force of law in Poland; the nuncio therefore set to work to obtain their acceptance by the Diet as well. At a personal interview he prevailed upon the Bishop of Lemberg to take the carrying out of the decrees in hand. Commendone extended his journey through the Polish kingdom as far as Podolia, his efforts everywhere being directed to the abolition of ecclesiastical abuses. Since the end of the year he had again been occupied with the renewed danger of a national council, against which he worked upon the king, as well as in other ways, wherever he had an opportunity. In the Diet which was opened in January, 1565, at Petrikau, the religious innovators strove with all their power for the holding of such a council. This danger was indeed averted, but the Diet decided upon the liberation of the nobles from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. By calling attention to the disturbances in France, Commendone was successful in inducing even many persons of Protestant leanings to have no further desire for a national council.

This danger seemed hardly to have been averted when a new one arose. The plan of divorcing himself from his wife, the Archduchess Catherine of Austria, who gave him no prospect of issue, was taking a stronger and stronger hold upon the king. The validity of his marriage was to be con-tested on the ground that Catherine was the sister of the king's first wife. A dispensation from this impediment, however, had been granted by the Pope, and it could hardly be supposed, therefore, that Pius IV would consent to a separation. The innovators now called upon the king to cause his divorce to be declared by a national council; they had already fixed upon a future queen in the daughter of Radziwill, the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants. If Sigismund Augustus had fallen in with these plans, there would have been a repetition in Poland of what had been seen in



England under Henry VIII. Fortunately this extreme step was prevented, and this was in no small degree due to Commendone.

The indefatigable nuncio had richly deserved the purple which was bestowed on him on March 12th, 1565. Always active on behalf of ecclesiastical affairs in Poland, he remained there until the end of the year, though when he left the kingdom, in spite of all his successes, he was greatly troubled at heart for its future. Political anarchy was as rampant there as the religious controversy. The anti-Trinitarians were spreading everywhere ; the question of the king's divorce as well as the untrustworthiness of Uchanski were sources of grave danger.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless Commendone could console himself with the thought that he had, during his sojourn in Poland, laid the foundations for a reform and a Catholic restoration by the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees which he had obtained from the king. The carrying into effect of these, especially that against the accumulation of benefices, and that about the duty of residence, opened out, it is true, extraordinary difficulties, but on the other hand Commendone had the joy of witnessing the beginnings of a renewal of ecclesiastical life ; at the Easter of 1565 he was able to report as to the increasing frequentation of the holy sacraments, and the first signs of the return of many Protestants to the Church. In all his efforts for an ecclesiastical restoration, to which he continued to give his attention to the end, no one stood more loyally by his side than Hosius. In August, 1565, they united in bringing their influence to bear on the diocesan synod of Heilsberg in favour of the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees. It was due to both Cardinals that one of the most powerful instruments for the Catholic restoration, the Jesuits, turned their attention to the east. They immediately established colleges at Braunsberg, Wilna, and Pultusk. The college at Braunsberg became the centre of the Catholic restoration in eastern and northern Europe.

CHAPTER XVII.

The State of Religion in France.

The crisis which the kingdom of France had to encounter was far more violent and dangerous than that in Poland. A victory of the new religious opinions there would have been of incalculably far-reaching importance for the whole of Europe.

The premature death of Henry II (July 10th, 1559) brought about a decisive change in French affairs, and during the reigns of his sons, who were minors, the domestic dissensions in the kingdom grew more and more acute. In political as well as in religious matters grave disorders broke loose upon the kingdom. Calvinism, the adherents of which, in spite of the persecution of Henry II, were increasing in numbers, had, with its fundamental doctrine of predestination, and its pitiless separation of the elect and the lost, pierced deep into the heart of ancient France. It had, moreover, entered into close alliance with the opposition party in politics.

Under the first successor of Henry II, Francis II, who was only sixteen years of age, and who was weak in body as well as in mind, the reins of government fell into the hands of the Guise, of whom Francis, the bold and experienced soldier, and his diplomatic brother, the Cardinal, were the most important. Cardinal Charles Guise, that highly-gifted man, who had already received the purple at the age of twenty-three, had many high qualities, but also many grave faults. The youngest of the French Cardinals, he put the others to shame by his strictly ecclesiastical manner of life. In his diocese of Rheims he had devoted himself, above all, to the formation of a good clergy. His imposing presence, his knowledge of languages and his eloquence, aroused universal admiration, but all the more did his contemporaries blame his boundless ambition, his self-seeking character, and his greed of wealth and power.<sup>1</sup> The Guise knew well that the revolutionary tendencies of the people had their origin in the religious innovations, and they accordingly strove to keep the latter in check with as much rigour as the dead king. This made as many enemies for them as the unlimited power which the king allowed them, and the want of consideration with which they used it. Having only recently settled in France, they were looked upon as foreigners, a thing which added to the number of their opponents. All these malcontents, as the Venetian ambassador, Soriano, says, united themselves with the Huguenots, as the Calvinists in France were then called, so that they might attain their private aims under the guise of religion. Among these malcontents, in addition to many of the nobles, were to be found the princes of the blood royal, to whom, according to the old French custom, belonged the first place in the

councils of a king who was a minor, but who now found themselves put in the background and passed over. Not a few of these important personages openly and unreservedly avowed themselves Calvinists, while others were at any rate strongly inclined to their opinions.

Of the princes of the collateral line of Bourbon, the only one who remained true to the Church was Charles de Bourbon, who had been raised to the purple by Paul III. His elder brother, Antoine de Vendome, who was, through his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, titular King of Navarre, but actually only in possession of Bearn and Lower Navarre, was a man of weak character, who allowed himself to be guided by those about him. As his wife was a zealous adherent of the Huguenots, the latter counted upon his support; they were certain of that of his brother, Louis de Conde. This prince, who was as ambitious as he was cunning, was, despite his dissolute life and his love of pleasure, a man of great energy and resolution. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny must be described as an even more important personality; his severe manner of life was in strong contrast to that of Conde, but he was in complete accord with him in the matter of religion.

The opposition party, both political and religious, which ascribed to the Catholic Guise all the abuses in the French kingdom, set on foot, in the spring of 1560, the conspiracy of Amboise, which aimed at the overthrow of the Guise, the abduction of the king, and at setting Conde at the head of the government, and thus establishing the predominance of Calvinism. Conde himself was the secret leader of the conspiracy, the ramifications of which stretched as far as England and Germany. The Calvinists justified their action on the ground of political necessity. The plot, however, was discovered, and many of the conspirators were executed. Nevertheless, it did not fail to have an effect; a certain weakening began to show itself in the hitherto unbending attitude of the Guise; they allowed the appointment as chancellor of Michel de L'Hôpital, the leader of the so-called political Catholics, who were pursuing the phantom of compromise (July 30th 1560), while they also made further concessions, which were interpreted by their enemies as signs of fear, and which they therefore hailed with ridicule. Thus the courage and the pretensions of the hitherto persecuted Calvinists began to revive, and they began to lift up their heads in many different places. As early as the summer of 1560 a close observer reported to Rome that heresy was steadily spreading in the provinces, because so little resistance was made to it. At Rouen nocturnal battles in the streets between the Catholics and Huguenots were not uncommon, while at Orleans, Poitiers and in other towns the Catholics showed themselves so timid that they scarcely dared to make complaint.

Pius IV, who had since May been anxious about the turn of affairs in France, sought vainly to remedy them by nominating, on June 13th, 1560, Cardinal Tournon as Grand Inquisitor for France, with the power of proceeding against the heretics even without the assistance of the local bishops. Fully realizing that the principal cause of the religious schism lay in the disorders among the clergy, he, at the same time, proposed to restore discipline among the French ecclesiastics by the appointment as legates of the two Cardinals, Tournon and Guise. But this measure came too late. Many of the bishops who had been nominated by the court party were tainted by the corruption of the times, and were quite unfit to take steps against the abuses among the lower clergy. Even the regular clergy had in various ways degenerated, while the new order of the Jesuits, which was so full of

vigour, was not allowed into France. It can therefore be no matter for surprise that, among the secular clergy, both the higher and the lower, as well as in the monasteries, there were to be found many secret Calvinists, who were held back from open apostasy only by the consideration of their benefices and the fear of punishment. Even several of the bishops, such as Jean de Montluc of Valence, Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzes, and Caraccioli of Troyes, as well as even Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, were followers of the new doctrines. The common people, as Giovanni Michiel bears witness, still remained loyally firm in their old faith, but on the other hand, the upper classes, and especially the nobles, were greatly tainted by the new religious opinions, and many only went to mass for the sake of appearances or out of fear.

The religious situation in France became even more threatening when the government took up an antagonistic attitude towards the Holy See by reason of its policy with regard to the Council. Undeterred by the repeated assurances of Pius IV that the ecumenical Council would very soon be convoked, the French Council of State projected the holding of a special assembly of the French prelates, which looked only too like a national council. Even good Catholics, discontented at the long suspension of the Council of Trent, gave their support to these proposals, which were the outcome of that Gallican spirit, which had for so long filled the Curia with anxiety. In spite of all the assurances to the contrary on the part of the French government, Rome saw in this assembly of the prelates, a national council, which would in all probability lead to schism. In the case of the ambitious Cardinal Guise they feared that he was aiming at the dignity of French patriarch. How far his conduct was influenced by the idea of a national church, which would be incompatible with the unity of the universal Church, must remain an open question; at any rate it was a strange and suspicious circumstance that both he and the untrustworthy chancellor, de L'Hôpital, were promoting a national council. The Venetian ambassador, Michele Soriano, has expressed the opinion that Guise only wished to throw dust in the eyes of the innovators by this plan of a national council. Whatever the real objects of the Cardinal may have been, his conduct with regard to the question of the Council had very disastrous consequences. Even though in November he changed his attitude, and threw over the national council, his policy had so encouraged the Huguenots that in those places where they were strongest they persecuted the Catholics and drove them from their churches. They even threatened Avignon itself. Condé then planned a fresh conspiracy for the overthrow of the Guise, but this too was discovered and led to the imprisonment and condemnation of the prince. His execution was on the point of being carried into effect when the death of Francis II, on December 5th, 1560, completely changed the situation. Once more a boy ascended the throne, the ten year old Charles IX, but the helm of the state passed into the by no means strong hands of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici.

This remarkable woman made an impression upon the history of France which was as deep as it was unfortunate. She possessed all the good qualities and all the weaknesses of her family. Gifted, a lover of the arts and of pomp, and filled with an indefatigable energy, her conduct was always dominated by that uneasy, cautious Medici prudence which was so characteristic of her great-uncle, Leo X. Like that Pope, to whom she bore a strong personal resemblance, Catherine was extremely irresolute, and at the same time very timid and superstitious. A faithful disciple of Machiavelli, and a past mistress of untruthfulness, she did not shrink

from the employment of tin very worst means in order to maintain her supremacy. It has with reason been said of her that her subtlety consisted only in the constantly changing use of trifling measures and self-seeking intrigues. It was vain to seek for any strength in her, who was capable of changing her mind three times in a single day. She always preferred half-measures. Externally she acted for the most part as a Catholic, but the differences of religion did not really affect her mind at all. How far she was under the sceptical influence of her compatriot, Pietro Strozzi, would be difficult to say, but it is beyond doubt that she always subordinated, and without the least scruple, questions of religion to political considerations. In face of the dangers which threatened France from the fanaticism of the Huguenots and the ambition of the Guise, the regent, caring only for honour and power, and looked upon by her subjects as a foreigner, hoped best to maintain her supremacy by a policy of preserving a balance between the parties, following first one and then the opposite course, one day, as Aubigne says, pouring oil into the fire of the party feuds, and the next day water, aiming always at never allowing either of the opposing forces to secure a decisive advantage, using one against the other, and in this way ruling them both.

The new government began by a reaction against the former despotism of the Guise, who now leaned more strongly than before upon the strict Catholic party. Conde was pardoned, Navarre received again the office of Lieutenant-General, and Coligny his former dignities. The Calvinists drew great advantages from the changed state of affairs. As early as the end of January, 1561, in spite of the protests of the nuncio, Gualterio, they obtained such concessions as the suspension of all judicial proceedings in matters of religion, and the abrogation of penalties already inflicted. After the appointment of Navarre to the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, they thought that they could look upon themselves as masters of the country districts. Numerous preachers flocked into France from Geneva, who were allowed without interference to attack and flout the Catholic religion in Paris and other cities. Very soon they even made their appearance at the royal court. Coligny brought a preacher with him to Fontainebleau, and Catherine suffered this; she even one fine day accompanied the young king and her other children to a sermon of this innovator. The nuncio tried to make a protest, but was not granted an audience. In view of the danger of the apostasy of the royal house Francis de Guise and Montmorency put aside their former enmity and were joined by the Marshal de Saint-André. At Easter, April 6th, 1561, these three men formed themselves into a league known as the Triumvirate. In consequence of this Catherine drew even nearer to the Calvinist party, who were still further encouraged in their activities by an edict of toleration on April 19th. With growing indignation Gualterio observed the behaviour of the government, dictated as it was by weakness and fear. His reports to Rome, though quite in accordance with the truth, were described on the part of the French as being too pessimistic, and consequently the position of the nuncio became more and more difficult. It became altogether intolerable when Pius IV shrank from taking the strong course of action against the French government which Gualterio recommended. The diplomatic Pope feared an open break with France, principally because this would have left him completely at the mercy of the arrogance of the Spanish king, which was already so galling. It was not by severity, but rather by mildness that the people in question were to be won over. Taking into consideration the vacillating character of Catherine de' Medici and of Navarre, it appeared to him that such a course of action offered the best chance

of a change of French religious policy in favour of the French Catholics. In May, 1561, the recall of Gualterio and his replacement by Prospero Santa Croce, Bishop of Cisamus, was decided upon.

Pius IV was in no small degree confirmed in this cautious policy by the behaviour of Navarre, who adapted his religious attitude to his political aims. While Francis II was still alive, the titular king of Navarre had sent to Rome, in the person of Pierre d'Albret, an envoy to pay homage to the Pope, and thus obtain recognition as a sovereign prince. On account of the opposition of the Spaniards the Pope had long deferred this recognition, but at length, on December 14th, 1560, he had received the *obedientia* of the King of Navarre at a public consistory in the Sala Regia. It would appear that very little had been known in France about this occurrence. Navarre was able to retain his popularity with the Huguenots all the more easily because he was secretly assisting their aims. He made such far-reaching promises to the Queen of England that Elizabeth looked upon him as a sure ally. But at the approach of Easter the fickle prince retired to a monastery, and during Holy Week publicly received Communion, taking good care that his Catholic behaviour was reported to Rome by the nuncio. At the same time he sent the skilful Pierre d'Albret back to the Curia, hoping that he would be received by Pius IV as the permanent ambassador of Navarre, which would have involved a recognition on the part of the Pope of his claims to that kingdom. When, at the end of April, d'Albret arrived in the Eternal City, he found that, in consequence of a strong protest lodged by Juan de Ayala in the name of Philip II against the consistory of December 14th, 1560, the situation had been entirely changed, and that Pius IV had been forced to a skilful diplomatic volte-face. While it was hinted that the Pope intended to refrain from mixing himself up in this difficult question, an excuse was found for sending d'Albret back to France. He was told to hold out hopes to his master that a better opportunity would be found, and at the same time to pave the way in France for the sending of a Cardinal legate.

It seemed to the Pope that the man best suited for this difficult mission would be Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. This prince of the Church, who was as ambitious as he was wealthy, had, as the uncle of the Duke of Guise, and the cousin of the widowed Duchess Renee, been for many years on the best of terms with the kingdom of France, where he held many ecclesiastical benefices. The builder of the famous Villa d'Este at Tivoli was among the most brilliant figures in the College of Cardinals, and held an altogether exceptional position there. An enthusiastic patron of the arts and of science, the son of Lucrezia Borgia was at the same time a diplomat of great ability, who was, moreover, intimately acquainted with French affairs. He fully shared the affection of his house for France, and in the last conclave had been the principal candidate of the then all-powerful Guise, though he was now on the side of those who had control of the government, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre. For this reason, as well as on account of the popularity which he enjoyed with the French people, he was in a quite exceptional way fitted for the mission now intended for him. As soon as Este had declared his readiness to undertake the task, which, in view of the ever-increasing confusion in the state of affairs in France, bristled with difficulties, Pius IV burned with impatience to put his plan into execution. Even before the arrival of d'Albret in France, he had already, on June 2nd, 1561 appointed Este as legate *de latere*.

The departure of Este, however, was delayed, partly on account of the necessary preparations, for he wished to make his appearance with the greatest possible pomp, and partly because it was necessary to wait for the consent of the French government. Instead of this there arrived, in the last week of June, a report from Gualterio of the 14th of that month, containing the news of the assembly of the French prelates which had been convoked for July 20th. Although the French government did not fail to send soothing assurances, the terrifying picture of a national council took possession of the imagination of Pius IV. He was convinced that the reasons alleged for this assembly, namely the preliminary discussions about the ecumenical Council, and the consideration of the liquidation of the debts of the crown, were merely a pretext. On June 26th Gualterio was charged to do all in his power to have the assembly postponed, at any rate until the arrival of Este; if he could not succeed in doing this, he was to prevent any steps being taken in the assembly to the injury of the Catholic religion. In a consistory on June 27th the report of the French nuncio was read, and the conclusion was arrived at that there was no definite reason for supposing that a national council was intended. Nevertheless the departure of Este was hurried forward. He received the legatine cross on June 27th, and left the Eternal City on July 2nd. His retinue was as splendid as that of a prince of the Church in the golden age of the Renaissance. His suite numbered more than 400 knights, while his own company of musicians added to the ostentatious display. Este also took with him several bishops, and the best canonists and theologians in the Curia, among whom, by the special order of the Pope, was the General of the Jesuits, Lainez. Thus the representatives of Catholic reform had their place in the mission. Advisers of wide experience and of strict ecclesiastical views seemed all the more necessary in view of the difficulty of the problems which had to be dealt with in France, and also because the Cardinal, a true son of the Renaissance, was much more likely to be influenced by political than by religious considerations.

Cardinal Este travelled slowly by way of Siena, first of all to Florence, which he reached on July 13th, and where he had a conference with Cosimo I; nor was the remainder of his journey at all hurried. The reason for this was not only the great heat of the summer, but also the realization of the difficulty of his mission, and the hope that the complicated state of affairs in France would soon become clearer.

The object of Este's mission was to protect the interests of the Catholic Church in France, so seriously threatened by the weakness of the French government, by skilful diplomacy, and by winning over those in authority. His immediate object was to win over the influential but vacillating King of Navarre, to keep Catherine from making any further concessions to the innovators, and to guide her attempts to meet the religious crisis in the legitimate direction of an ecumenical Council, at the same time being very careful in all this to avoid anything which might lead to an open rupture. Even during the course of his journey the Cardinal showed himself as moderate and conciliatory as possible. He tried to show the King of Navarre into what an abyss of difficulties he would throw France by blindly pursuing his own private ends, and of what little value, in comparison with the power of the Catholics, were the hopes which he entertained of the help of England and Germany.

The news which came from France at first was not very encouraging. The government persisted in its projected assembly of the prelates, and even openly declared that the leaders of the Calvinists must be invited to be present! But even if the optimistic view of the situation which, on the whole, had so far been held in the Curia had to be modified, fresh hopes were roused when news came of the edict of July, which contained several provisions favourable to the Catholics. It is true that there was little reason for satisfaction as far as the carrying out of these provisions was concerned, and Gualterio reported that the government, in contradiction to the assurances which they had hitherto given, intended to allow the discussion of the religious question at the assembly of the prelates. At the same time, Catherine de' Medici and the King of Navarre, to whom it was of great importance to maintain the appearance of being good Catholics, were very lavish with every kind of promise. They sent friendly letters to the Pope, with the result that he again became reassured. There was, however, but little justification for this, for the edict of July remained a dead letter. On August 17th the Calvinist, Hugo Languet, wrote in triumph concerning it from Paris that the Papists had done nothing more by its means than to irritate the people they wished to be suppressed, so that these now did openly what they had before been accustomed to do in secret; in almost all the cities except Paris, sermons were preached, churches seized, images des-troyed and relics of the saints burned.

In order to appease the strict Catholics, and especially the professors of the Sorbonne, who even in May had strongly dissuaded the king from the idea of a national council, the following were stated to be the objects of the assembly of prelates: a preliminary consultation about the ecumenical Council, the appointment of the delegates who were to attend it, and the discussion of important matters relating to the Gallican church and the kingdom. That the government had other intentions, however, was shown by the edict of July 25th, which assured safe-conduct to Poissy to all French subjects, and therefore to the Calvinists as well, who wished to bring forward any matter concerning religion. There, at Poissy, close to St. Germain-en-Laye, where the court was in residence, the clergy were to assemble, while the nobles and the third estate were to meet at the neighbouring city of Pontoise. Only a part of the bishops went to Poissy, among them Odet de Chatillon, Montluc, Saint-Gelais and Caraccioli, who were all more or less openly inclined to Calvinism. To these the Cardinals who were present formed a counterpoise, namely, Tournon, Armagnac and Guise. The assembly was opened on July 31st by the chancellor, L'Hôpital, who in the name of the king openly described it as a national council, which, far better than a general council, composed for the most part of foreigners, would be able, by means of "a reform of morals and doctrine" to afford relief to the difficulties of France. Speaking of the adherents of the new religion, he declared that it was the duty of the assembly not to condemn them in advance, but to welcome them kindly.

While the nuncio Gualterio was making bitter complaints to Catherine and Navarre concerning this line of action, which was altogether at variance with that hitherto followed by the government, the majority of the bishops, under the leadership of Cardinal Tournon, had taken up a definite stand. They repudiated the idea of a national council, and declared that, always supposing that there would be no discussion of doctrine, they could only take part in the deliberations



concerning the removal of abuses; they were quite determined to maintain the obedience which they owed to the Pope.

To this double-dealing, so dear to the French government, with regard to the assembly of prelates at Poissy, were added other acts which were calculated more and more to destroy the hopes which the sanguine temperament of Pius IV led him to entertain. In spite of her attempts to conceal the real objects of her policy, Catherine de' Medici found that the true state of affairs was nearly always reported to Rome. This could only have been done by the nuncio Gualterio, and since the Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, was also in the habit of sending frequent dispatches to Rome, she suspected a secret understanding between them. In order to discover this she caused the diplomatic dispatches to be intercepted and opened! Pius IV loudly complained in consistory at this shameful proceeding, and threatened that he would no longer receive the French ambassador unless the stolen correspondence was restored. Soon more bad news arrived from France; at Pontoise the nobles and the third estate had demanded the cessation of all persecution of the Calvinists, and the holding of a national council, and, in order to meet the financial crisis, they gave their support to a confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues. The government showed itself well disposed towards this last proposal, and, moreover, persisted in its plan of abolishing the first-fruits, while it made difficulties about sending any prelates to Trent. In this way the assembly at Poissy developed into a religious conference with the Calvinists. Preachers, for the most part apostate Catholics, arrived from all parts; on August 23rd, Theodore Beza, Calvin's principal colleague, arrived at the court of St. Germain-en-Laye, and the reception accorded to him could not have been more ceremonious had he been the Pope himself. He was at once allowed to preach at the house of Conde, and in the evening Navarre took him to Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX, who received him very graciously. During the days that followed, Beza, as well as others, were allowed to preach at the royal palace before a large gathering of the nobility, as well as to hold a Calvinist service. All this was the cause of great anxiety to the Spanish ambassador, who felt it as though he were at Geneva.

It can hardly be wondered at, therefore, that in spite of the protests of the Sorbonne a religious conference was opened under the presidency of the young king on September 9th in the refectory of the Dominicans at Poissy. Beza spoke first in the name of the twelve Calvinist preachers. He began with an emotional prayer, and then proceeded to explain, at first with great circumspection, the new system of doctrine. It was only when he came to the doctrine of the Eucharist that he came out in his true colours by saying: "The Body of Christ is as far removed from the consecrated bread as heaven is from earth." At these words loud murmurings broke out through all the assembly; even the adherents of the new religion were covered with confusion, while Coligny covered his face with his hands, and Cardinal Tournon turned to the queen, crying out excitedly: "Is it possible that Your Majesty can tolerate such a blasphemy?" His appeal was in vain, and Catherine allowed Beza to finish his discourse. After Tournon had demanded a copy of the speech, so that he might frame his reply, the assembly broke up in great excitement.

At the second sitting, on September 16th, Cardinal Guise refuted the doctrines set forth by Beza in a brilliant speech, calling attention with great skill

to the contradictions between the Calvinists and the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. The Cardinal's speech was couched in extremely measured terms, so that it could not fail to make a great impression on the moderate party, though as far as the matter was concerned he held firmly to the Catholic standpoint. On September 12th the government had succeeded in obtaining from the Parliament of Paris the registration of the great edict of Orleans of January 31st, the edict which abolished the power of the Pope in the conferring of French benefices, and forbade the sending of first-fruits and other monies to Rome.

Such was the state of affairs when at last, on September 19th, Cardinal Este, sent to act as mediator, arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye. His reception at the court was courteous, but cold. Although Este had, through an intermediary, given tranquillizing assurances on the subject of his faculties, the chancellor, L'Hôpital, refused to give them the customary sanction by affixing to them the seal of state, on the ground that they were a violation of the edict of Orleans. Este did not allow himself to be intimidated by this set-back. Like the skilled diplomatist he was he sought to attain his ends by studious moderation. Making a virtue of necessity, he so completely shut his eyes to the dangerous policy of Catherine and the questionable behaviour of Navarre as to draw down upon himself the strong blame of the strict Catholics, who from the first had regarded him with distrust and dislike. Cardinals Guise and Tournon likewise feared a curtailment of their own powers. All the party of the Guise, as well as the Spanish ambassador, were strongly opposed to the policy of moderation pursued in Rome, which endangered their own aims. They, as well as the nuncio Gualterio, were convinced that Catholic interests could only be safeguarded by the fall of the existing government, the want of sincerity and double-dealing of which filled them with indignation. Their remonstrances, in conjunction with the bad impression given by recent events, had at last caused Pius IV himself to hesitate, and at the end of October he seemed to have decided to abandon the conciliatory policy which he had so far followed.

Cardinal Este, however, did not allow himself to be deterred from his policy of moderation either by the changed attitude of the Pope or by the difficulties which he met with in France. He seemed to be willing to overlook everything: the equivocal behaviour of Navarre, the religious conference, and the toleration of Calvinism. From the first he had made it clear that he had come to show mildness, and to use gentle remedies against the disease. In order to gain ground, his first care was to obtain the recognition of his faculties, by which the edict of Orleans would be completely set aside. While the disentanglement of this problem was long delayed, he very soon secured the abandonment of the publicity which had hitherto been accorded to the religious conference; henceforward the king took no further part in its sittings. The very ambiguous formula concerning the Holy Eucharist adopted on September 29th gave great pleasure at the court, but was rejected by the Sorbonne. On October 9th the assembly of the prelates at Poissy proposed the banishment of all the preachers who should refuse to subscribe to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist; on the other hand they took upon themselves for the next sixteen years the payment of seventeen million livres for the liquidation of the debts of the state. On the strength of this the government promised to maintain the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom.

At the same time it approved, at any rate in appearance, the sending of delegates to the Council of Trent. This was due, not only to the pressure of Este, but also to the threatening attitude of Philip II, who in the middle of October caused Catherine to be informed that this was the last time he would urge her to give up her policy of toleration of the Calvinists, and to enter upon one of stern repression; in that case she could count upon his assistance, but otherwise he must give it to those who were asking for it in order to preserve the old religion, since the protestantizing of France exposed both the Netherlands and Spain to danger.

Catherine, who feared nothing so much as intervention on the part of Spain, was much alarmed at this, and on October 18th, she issued orders for the restitution of all the churches which had been seized by the Calvinists, put an end to the negotiations for a reunion, which were already hopeless, and solemnly promised that she would cause a good number of prelates, as well as a special envoy from herself, to go to the Council. At last Este, in spite of the refusal of L'Hôpital, obtained the recognition of his faculties by their being stamped with the seal of state. It was not until he had won this success that he sent a report to the Pope by Abbot Niquet. Pius IV, however, trusted the turn which affairs had taken in France all the less since the French ambassador had presented a petition for the granting of the chalice to the laity. Niquet, who was eagerly awaited in Rome, did not arrive until November 14th, 1561. In the name of Este he begged for the continuation of the policy so far adopted, and of the negotiations to win over Navarre; at the same time he advised that such concessions as that of the chalice for the laity should be granted, since force would be of no avail at all. The detailed account which the representative of Este gave of the state of affairs in France held out but little prospect of any change for the better. The mildness and conciliatory attitude of the government only roused the Calvinists to still greater hatred of the "idolators," as they called the Catholics. It seemed as though they intended to make it clear to the latter that they would not be satisfied with any mere toleration, but that they aimed at the complete overthrow of the Catholic religion in France. It was just at this moment that the acts of violence against the Catholics in many different parts of the country were multiplied. In many cities they were insulted and ill-treated, their images and relics burned, here and there churches were destroyed, priests and monks driven out, and sometimes even killed, or, as in Normandy, cruelly mutilated by the cutting off of their ears. The worst outrages occurred in the southern provinces, where in several places the Catholic worship was altogether suppressed. The new religion had begun to penetrate even into the Papal territory at Carpentras.

All this was bound to confirm Pius IV in his conviction that the conciliatory policy of the past must be abandoned. Although he had so far defended Cardinal Este against the attacks of the Guise and the Spaniards, he now began to lend an ear to the accusations brought against him. The displeasure of the Pope was still further increased by news which arrived on November 29th, which caused such consternation on all sides that no less a person than Morone demanded the recall of Este. In his zeal to win over Navarre, Este, despite the protests of Tournon, allowed himself to be induced, at the invitation of Jeanne d'Albert and Catherine de' Medici, to be present at the sermon of a Calvinist, an apostate Franciscan! It availed the Cardinal very little that, in a detailed report, and with all the ingenuity of a true son of the Renaissance, he represented his conduct as an innocent act of

courtesy to the two queens, who in return for his compliance had, together with Navarre, Conde and other Huguenots, assisted at the Catholic sermon preached by the court chaplain.

When, at the beginning of 1562, Niquet left Rome, he was given a letter for Este which made it perfectly clear that Pius IV did not intend to allow questions of religion to be treated from the political point of view. It was altogether unfitting, it stated, that the Cardinal legate should have assisted at the sermon in question: very few people could be aware that this step had been taken with the best intentions and with forethought, while the scandal given was patent to all Catholics in France as well as abroad; such a thing must never take place again. Then the Pope went on in his letter to make bitter complaints of the behaviour of the French government, which put into force all the edicts issued in favour of the Huguenots, while those in favour of the Catholics remained a dead letter. He also complained of the demand for the chalice for the laity which had been made by the French ambassador in Rome, of the delay in sending representatives to the Council of Trent, and of the edict of Orleans. As long as the latter remained in force, the Pope must consider the concordat and all indulgences as being in abeyance. The legate must make it clear to the King of Navarre that his wishes could only be met on the condition of his taking up a definitely Catholic position. As to the line of action to be followed in the future, Pius IV did not conceal the fact that it no longer seemed wise to him to adopt or follow a policy of conciliation. The legate must make strong protests, without, however, coming to an actual breach. An autograph postscript added to the letter was highly significant; this left it open to Este to resign his legation under certain circumstances; in such a case he was to leave everything in the hands of Cardinal Tournon and the new nuncio, Santa Croce, who had been in France since October.

As the Pope again later on repeatedly showed his displeasure at the conduct of Este, the latter sought in every possible way to justify himself. In doing this he especially blamed the Catholics who thronged about the Guise, from whom the Church had little to hope; on the other hand he took considerable pains to excuse the behaviour of Catherine. If the disturbances in France had been of a purely religious nature, so Este maintained, another line of action might have been advisable, but he had become more and more convinced that religion was only made a pretext for the furtherance of private ends; therefore the situation did not seem to him to be so hopeless as his enemies made out. It would be easy to precipitate a rupture, but nothing but mildness would do any good. It was only in this way that he had been able to entertain any hopes of obtaining the recognition of his faculties, and of the sending of representatives to Trent.

It was quite true that Este could boast of success in these two matters. He was also destined to be successful in winning over Navarre and in obtaining the abrogation of the prohibition of the first-fruits, but in the thing that mattered most, the attitude of Catherine towards the Calvinists, things remained as they were. The queen held firm to her plan of maintaining peace by making concessions to the innovators, and of retaining the supreme power for herself by acting as mediator between the parties. Este assisted her in this, and hoped to win over Pius IV to the concessions, while Catherine was determined to carry them out unaided by means of a religious conference. That she had no idea of keeping the promise which she had made to the clergy of maintaining the Catholic religion

was shown by an edict published on January 24th, 1562, in the framing of which L'Hôpital plainly showed his conviction that in course of time the old and the new religions would be able to exist side by side in France.

The January edict gave the Calvinists the free right to practise their religion outside the cities, and only imposed on them the restitution of the churches which they had taken from the Catholics, while it enjoined on both parties to refrain from any acts of violence.<sup>1</sup> This (diet was of "immense importance" for by it the union of Church and State was broken" the immediate consequence of this new concession was the outbreak of the first civil and religious war, which was to be followed by seven others. Even though at first the leaders of the Huguenots clamoured for the observance of the January edict, they had no intention of being contented with that. In this, as Beza clearly stated, they saw merely the first-fruits of victory; their conception of the old Church, as an idolatrous institution, implied its complete destruction.

For the present, however, by far the greater part of the nation clung to the faith of their fathers, which was so closely interwoven with the life and customs of the people. For centuries their ancestors, in noble emulation, had proclaimed in every part of the kingdom their piety, their wealth and their artistic sense by the erection of so many magnificent churches, and by adorning them within and without with the most splendid creations of sculpture and painting. These works of art symbolized for the people the doctrines of Christianity, and lifted them up above the miseries of earth to a better world. They formed at the same time their most cherished memorials, because almost every family of importance, and every confraternity and guild had provided the means for some artistic foundation, or for an altar, a statue, or a stained glass window.

It is easy to imagine what excitement and bitterness was caused when the followers of Calvin, ignoring all prohibitions, sacked, destroyed and pulled down churches and convents wherever they could! Nor did they stop at that. Their minds inflamed with the fantastic idea that they were called upon to adopt the role of the prophets of the Old Testament when face to face with pagan idolatry, they proceeded to attack the persons of the Catholics, wounding and even killing them. During the autumn of 1561 at Montpellier all the sixty churches and convents in the city were sacked, and 150 priests and monks put to the sword. A similar attack on the churches and convents was made at Nîmes in December; the statues and relics were burned on a pyre in front of the cathedral, and after dancing round it, crying out that they would have neither mass nor idols nor idolators, the new religionists set themselves to pillage the churches in the neighbourhood. At Montauban the Poor Clares especially suffered; their convent was burned and the defenceless sisters were exposed half naked to the insults of the people, who advised them to get married. In some cities the Catholic worship was entirely suppressed. The preachers of the new religion incited their followers to these acts of violence, and deliberately planned them in their assemblies. For example the reformed consistory at Castres ordered, in December, 1561, the captain of the city forcibly to take everyone who appeared in the streets to the sermons; in carrying out this order several priests were dragged from the very altar and taken there; nor did twenty inmates of the convent of the Poor Clares fare any better. It was while the discussions concerning the edict of January were in progress that news came from Beza's city that after the terrible destruction of

the cathedral there the Huguenots had forcibly driven away all the priests. Not content with destroying the objects of veneration, such as the images, here and there, as for example at Montpellier, their fury was directed against the dead, whose graves were profaned, merely out of hatred for the religion which they had professed. If it is said that all this was merely by way of reprisal, and that the Calvinists only gave as they had received, it may be replied that while this is no doubt true in some cases, as for example at Carcassonne, where the Catholics took a bloody revenge, in the majority of cases it was the Catholics who were the injured party, and the victims of a system which aimed at the abolition of "idolatry" at all costs. The very fact that there were still many Catholics was looked upon by the Huguenots as a challenge. The violence of the Huguenots, which grew even more extreme during the course of the religious wars could only astonish those who were still wavering. What sort of religion, people asked themselves, can these men have, who profess to understand the Gospel better than anyone else? Where has Christ ordered men to despoil their neighbour and shed his blood? The thing which above all caused bitter feeling was the Huguenots' lust for sacrilege, which not only destroyed images, crucifixes and relics, but led to the most revolting crimes against what the Catholics regarded as their most holy and precious possession, the Holy Eucharist. At Nimes, Pai is, and elsewhere, after the breaking open of the tabernacles, the sacred host was burned and trampled under foot. The behaviour of the Huguenots after the appearance of the edict of January could not but increase the exasperation of the Catholics, and confirm them in their opposition to that enactment. In the past the innovators had refused obedience to edicts which were unfavourable to them, but they now with all the more zeal insisted on a strict observance of the edict of January on the part of the Catholics, though they them-selves paid no attention to the limitations which it imposed on them. As before they continued to hold their services, even in the cities, and as before they continued to allow them-selves every kind of act of violence. That their aim was the total abolition of the Catholic Church was shown by the decision arrived at in a synod held by 70 preachers at Nimes in February, 1562, to destroy all the churches in the city and diocese, and to compel the Catholics to accept Calvinism. In con-formity with this decision, on February 23rd, all the priests who still remained were driven out, and the work of destroying the churches begun by the burning of the cathedral.

The first signs of a definite Catholic reaction appeared in Paris, which had already become the true capital of France. The Duke of Guise repaired thither, at the invitation of no less a person than Navarre, who now fulfilled the hopes of Este, and trusting in the deceitful promises of Philip, openly joined the Catholic party. This man, whom the Huguenots had so long looked upon as their leader, now openly expressed himself in fax our of the introduction of the Inquisition into France! On March 1st at Vassy in Champagne, the followers of Guise came to blows with the Huguenots of that place, and sixty of the latter were killed. Guise had not ordered this butchery, and it is open to doubt to what extent the Calvinists, who, in defiance of the January edict, continued to hold their services at Vassy, had provoked the conflict. This chance encounter was disastrous because, in the existing state of excitement, it was looked upon as intentional, and, as De Thou says, gave, as it were, the signal for the outbreak of civil and religious war. The attempt of Conde to seize the king failed; the Guise anticipated him by persuading the still hesitating Queen-Mother by prayers and threats to return with her son to Paris. Conde thereupon hastened to Orleans and called

upon the whole Calvinist body to rise up in arms. In a short time the whole country was under arms, and the civil war had begun. The Huguenots had asked their preachers whether it was lawful for them to take up arms, and these decided that "it was not only lawful, but their duty to do so, in order to free the king and the queen from the power of the Guise, to defend religion, and to uphold the edicts which had been so solemnly promulgated. It might have been thought from this that the whole aim of the Huguenots was the defence of the edict of January; there can, however, be no question of this. Beza and Calvin thought that their work would only be completed and assured when the ancient Church in France had been destroyed. Any toleration of what the Huguenots called idolatry was contrary to their principles; they believed that they were called by God to purge the country from "the sons of Satan." But the Catholics were just as resolved to defend their religion against the threatened destruction, and their sanctuaries from pillage and fire.<sup>1</sup> Both parties knew well that everything was at stake. They therefore fought with a bitterness and cruelty that is unparalleled. Catherine was forced against her will to take part in the war, but if she took up her position on the side of the Catholics this was principally in order that she might keep the management of that party in her own hands.

The civil and religious war in France soon took on an international character, for upon its result depended the religious future of western Europe. The Huguenots obtained help from Protestant Germany and England, and the Catholics from Spain and the Pope. Queen Elizabeth only gave her help after the Huguenots had traitorously given over Le Havre, the finest port in the north of France, into her hands. Philip II and the Pope wished to send troops, but Catherine preferred help in money.

After the arrival in Rome (May 10th) of the Abbot Niquet with the request of the French government for help in the war against Conde, long negotiations followed as to the amount to be paid, and the manner and conditions of the payment which Pius IV imposed. The result, which was communicated to the Cardinals on May 27th, was as follows: the Pope, in spite of his serious financial straits, was prepared to make a gift of 100,000 scudi, and to make a loan of a similar sum. 25,000 scudi were to be paid at once, and the remainder within three months, but only after the fulfilment of the following conditions: the withdrawal of all the edicts in favour of the Huguenots, as well as of the anti-papal ordinances of that of Orleans, the banishment from the court of all open or secret Calvinists, and especially of the chancellor, L'Hôpital, the protection of Avignon, and the maintenance of the concordats and the Papal rights in France.

The task of securing the acceptance of these conditions, which were based upon a well-founded distrust of Catherine's sincerity, devolved upon Cardinal Este. As the war was urgent, Cardinal Guise insisted upon the immediate payment of the 25,000 scudi, which were of more importance in view of the pressing need of money, than would be a million later on. Este yielded to his insistence and paid the first instalment without securing the fulfilment of the conditions imposed by Pius IV. The Cardinal also gave 2000 scudi of his own, which he had with difficulty borrowed at 10 per cent.

While the Pope held out to the French government the hope of financial aid he also had in view, on account of the critical state of affairs in France, another

plan, which had been suggested to him by Cosimo I. In a letter of May 11th, Cosimo proposed, in order to save France, the formation of a great Catholic league, in which Spain and the Italian states, as well as the Pope, should join. Pius IV, who had already had some such idea in his mind, eagerly welcomed the proposal, but he found little inclination, either at Madrid or Venice, to enter upon so costly and far-reaching an undertaking. The plan of sending auxiliary troops to France, with which Cardinal Altemps was to have been sent as legate, was ship-wrecked owing to the opposition of Catherine de' Medici. It was no less painful for the Pope that he met with the gravest difficulties in securing the conditions which he had imposed on the French government in return for his financial aid. While Catherine at any rate promised the withdrawal of the edict of Orleans, that is to say as far as the restoration of the first-fruits was concerned, she absolutely refused to dismiss the chancellor, who, she maintained, was a good Catholic. At the beginning of August, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Auxerre, was sent to Rome to negotiate for less severe conditions, and since Este also expressed himself in favour of their mitigation, at the beginning of September Pius IV consented to a partial alteration. The principal demands which he now made were: the suppression of the Huguenots, the restoration of the first-fruits, and the promotion of the Council. The French government still hesitated to accept these terms, so that the Pope began to fear that he had been deceived. His determination to adhere to the above-mentioned demands hardened when the news came that it was the intention of the French to raise the question of the first-fruits at the Council, and that Catherine refused to forbid this. On November 21st, 1562, Cardinal Este had declared that the withdrawal of the clauses in the edict of Orleans which referred to the first fruits and preventions, was imminent, but it was not until January, 1563, that he received the royal patent on the matter. In consequence of this Este handed over to the French government a bill of exchange for 40,000 scudi of the subsidy, a course which was approved by the Pope, who had now made the single condition that if Catherine entered into any agreement with the Huguenots which was harmful to the Catholics, the money should not be paid. When the instructions to this effect, which are dated January 15th, were sent to Este, Rome was in a state of jubilation over the defeat which the Guise, with the help of the Spaniards, had inflicted on the Huguenots on December 19th, 1562, near Dreux. On January 3rd, 1563, a solemn mass of thanksgiving for this happy event was sung at S. Spirito. Immediately afterwards Pius IV sent letters to the principal French Catholics, in which he exhorted them to profit by the success which they had won.

In the meantime Francis de Guise had commenced the siege of Orleans, which was the principal stronghold of the Huguenots. He expected by the capture of this city to paralyse the power of the enemy and to put an end to the terrible civil war. But while he was engaged upon this plan he was mortally wounded by a Huguenot assassin on February 18th, 1563. The leaders of the Huguenots loudly praised this crime. Guise died a few days later, and his death was an irreparable loss to the Catholics, who were now without a leader, Marshal Saint-Andre, as well as Navarre, having died some time previously Montmorency was a prisoner, and Cardinal Guise was at the Council of Trent. Then Catherine, in spite of the threats and protests of Philip II, renewed, her negotiations for a compromise; the Prince of Condé she won over by the wiles and artifices of a lady of the court.<sup>1</sup> Under Catherine's influence, Conde and Montmorency, who had been set at liberty, concluded a treaty on March 12th, which was published on the 19th by



Charles IX under the name of the edict of Amboise. According to this the Huguenot nobles received, besides a general amnesty, full liberty to practise their religion for themselves and their families, and to some extent for their subjects. Moreover, in cities where the Calvinist worship had been in use up to March 9th, it was to be allowed to continue, and further, the reformed worship was to be allowed in one city in each administrative district, with the exception of Paris, and those places where the court was in residence.

Nobody was satisfied with this new agreement except Catherine, who did not wish either of the rival parties to become too powerful, and whose object, before everything else, was to recover her own supremacy. Coligny and Beza looked upon the compact as a betrayal, and from the first would not accept it. In their opinion the concessions were too small, and they did not intend to be satisfied with anything less than equal rights. On the other hand, the concessions which had been made to their mortal enemies seemed to the Catholics to be too great. The Spanish king as well as the Pope saw nothing less than a violation of the league in such a compact of peace, as being inadmissible in principle.<sup>1</sup> Consequently Cardinal Este was not able to pay over to the French government the last instalment of the Papal subsidy. With regard to the peace compact the Cardinal, in order to allay suspicion and anxiety, reported to Rome that Catherine and the leading Catholics had agreed to it only under the pressure of necessity, and against their will, and that he hoped, in a personal inter-view, to be able to convince the Pope of the good dispositions of Catherine. He accordingly still recommended the greatest possible consideration towards the latest requests of the French government, which had reference in the first place to the dispensation for the Cardinal of Bourbon to give up the ecclesiastical state, by which Conde would be precluded from all pretensions to be the first prince of the blood royal, and in the second place to the permission to sell ecclesiastical goods in order to relieve the extraordinary financial crisis.

The conciliatory Cardinal legate had always been a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, but all their efforts to procure his recall failed before the opposition of Catherine, to whom such a man was very welcome. When, on April 22nd, 1563, Este started out on his often deferred journey home, this was entirely at his own wish. At the end of May he had an interview at Ferrara with the Cardinal of Guise, which was of great importance for the furtherance of the Council. After a second conference at Florence with Cosimo I, he made his entry into Rome on June 26th, where he very soon made his influence felt.

While Este was still in France, the Pope had taken decisive steps in a matter of great importance. It had been pointed out by a Venetian envoy that one of the chief causes of the spread of the new religious opinions was the fact that men who were more or less avowed followers of Calvinism were able, in consequence of the unscrupulous way in which the French government abused the privileges given to it by the concordat, to insinuate themselves into the most important offices, and even become bishops and abbots. This betrayal of the Catholic Church by its natural protectors, the bishops, forced the Pope to take proceedings. His rights in this matter had once more recently been confirmed at the XIIIth Session of the Council of Trent. At the same time Pius IV showed no undue haste in dealing with the matter. When reliable informants pointed out to him as being very suspicious the religious attitude of several ecclesiastical dignitaries of high rank, especially

Cardinal Odet de Chatillon, the brother of Coligny, and Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, he first asked for further detailed information, and even after he had received this he still delayed in summoning the accused before him, in which he was supported, not only by the easy-going Cardinal Este, but also by the strict Cardinal Tournon, the Protector of the French Jesuits, who, in the July of 1561, was still advising him to delay.

Intervention on the part of the Pope, however, was all the more necessary since the French government did not show the slightest disposition to take steps against the bishops who were thus unfaithful to their trust. It was, however, only when Cardinal Guise, in May, 1562, declared himself to be prepared to proceed with the accusation against those prelates who openly supported heresy, that the Pope was able to take action. On May 25th he gave Cardinals Guise and Este the necessary powers, at the same time issuing six citations to appear before the Roman Inquisition. The Cardinals were to conduct the inquiry, though the Pope reserved the sentence to himself, or they might cause the citations to be delivered, and sent to Rome, in which case the conduct of the affair would pass into the hands of the Inquisition. Pius IV would have preferred to have left the matter in the hands of Cardinal Guise alone, but the Cardinal legate, Este, would not suffer himself to be passed over. The latter, however, on account of the opposition of Queen Catherine, did not show any great haste, although there could no longer be any doubt as to the apostasy of Chatillon from the Church. Este had to be urged to execute the summons in September and November, 1562, and it was at the same time pointed out to him that the Pope was inexorable on this point, whether the queen gave her consent or not. A further delay occurred owing to the fact that in the first summons issued against Chatillon there was a technical error, which, in the opinion of the Inquisition, rendered it invalid. Accordingly, on December 8th, a second summons was sent to Este, with instructions to deliver it immediately, together with those issued against the other bishops, because complaints at the long delay in the proceedings were being made from all sides. This explains why it was only at the end of January, 1563 that the nuncio Santa Croce was able to send to Rome a formal notification that the summons against Chatillon and the Bishop of Troyes had been delivered. The Roman Inquisition then took the matter into its own hands. This tribunal had set on foot the most searching enquiries, which, in the case of Cardinal Chatillon, had made it clear that this disloyal prince of the Church had undoubtedly seceded to the Calvinists, whose doctrines he had disseminated in his diocese of Beauvais and wherever else he could. Chatillon had made no attempt to defend himself. Making use of the existing legal forms, Pius IV, with the assent of all the Cardinals, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices in a consistory on March 21st. This sentence was hurried forward because the Pope feared lest Michel de Seurre, who had been sent to Rome by Catherine to ask for the dispensation for Bourbon, and for permission to sell ecclesiastical property in France, should intercede for Chatillon.

Pius IV had no idea of limiting himself to these proceedings against Chatillon, and at the end of March he made it clear that it was his intention to deprive all the Huguenot ecclesiastics of their benefices. The Queen of Navarre was also declared to have forfeited her kingdom, because she had tried to force upon it the acceptance of the new doctrines by means of threats of violence, such as the prohibition of public processions under pain of death.

In virtue of a special bull, dated April 7th, 1563, the Roman Inquisition, on the 13th of the same month, published, by affixing it in the four principal places in the city, a proclamation citing eight French bishops to appear within six months before that tribunal to defend themselves against the charge of heresy, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* and deprivation. The accused were Jean de Chaumont of Aix, Antonio Caracciolo of Troyes, Louis d'Albret of Lescar, Claude Regin of Oloron, Jean de Montluc of Valence, Francis de Noailles of Dax, Charles Guillart of Chartres, and Jean de Saint-Gelais of Uzés.

Except in the cases of Noailles the accusation was fully justified. Only one of the accused, Caracciolo, asked the nuncio for mercy, the rest, appealing to the liberties of the Gallican church, refused to appear before the Inquisition. The French government, which just at that moment had deeply offended the Pope by its arbitrary proceeding in the sale of church property, and by its equivocal attitude towards the Huguenot threat to Avignon, now set a seal upon its hostile attitude by taking the part of the accused. It denied the right of the Pope to pronounce sentence in such causes at Rome; thus, in the face of the Pope's condemnation, Chatillon had the effrontery during August to appear at Rouen in his Cardinal's dress.

It was just at this moment that Catherine appointed Cardinal Guise to defend the Gallican liberties; as soon as the rights of the crown were touched upon at Trent, he and all the French bishops were to leave the Council. Catherine had felt the threat of proceedings against the Huguenot Queen of Navarre very deeply, since her deposition was bound to turn to the advantage of Spain. The situation was thus very strained when the nuncio Santa Croce, a short time after Charles IX had attained his majority at Rouen, went to Rome on August 22nd, 1563, to discuss the questions at issue between France and the Curia. Santa Croce took with him, in Catherine's name, a proposal for a meeting of the principal Catholic sovereigns under the presidency of the Pope. This proposal, which to all outward seeming was quite harmless, but which in reality contained the "quite unmistakable threat" of action on the part of the secular power, was aimed at preventing the Curia from going on with the reform of the princes at Trent, and the punishment of the Queen of Navarre. Catherine, however, obtained just the contrary of what she wished; the diplomatic skill of Pius IV proved to be far superior to her own. The Pope received the proposal which the queen had made very cordially, and united it to his own earlier proposal of a league of the Catholic princes for the carrying out of the decrees of the Council, and the extirpation of heresy, and thus made it appear that France was calling the princes to take the field in defence of the Council and against heresy.

After this diplomatic victory the Pope firmly and successfully worked for the conclusion of the Council, but he did not on that account lose sight of the punishment of the Queen of Navarre and the heretical French bishops. Catherine experienced another diplomatic defeat when the envoy sent by her to Rome in October was refused an audience. It was very strange that she should have chosen for this office one of the accused bishops, Francois de Noailles, who was the close friend of Chatillon. Noailles was instructed to ask for the approval of the sale of Church property, which had already been carried out in the most arbitrary way by the French government, and he was also to protest against the deposition of Jeanne d'Albret and of Chatillon as being an infringement of the privileges of the

French kings, of the concordat, and of the liberties of the Gallican church, which enjoined that no French subject should be brought to judgment outside France. Pius IV absolutely refused to receive Noailles, so that the latter had to remain for the time being in Venice. In the meantime Cardinal de la Bourdaisière was doing his utmost in Rome to have the trial of the accused held in France. Cardinal Guise too, who was in Rome, used all his eloquence to make the Pope change his mind, but Pius IV., who knew that the highest interests of the Church in France were at stake, remained firm. He continued to refuse to receive Noailles, and only waited for the departure of Cardinal Guise to take decisive steps. In a consistory on October 22nd, 1563, after a statement as to the situation had been made by the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, it was declared that all the seven bishops had refused to obey the summons, that some of them were notorious heretics, and the rest strongly suspected of heresy. Therefore the Pope, who twice spoke against the proposal for delay put forward by Bourdaisière, pronounced sentence with the approval of all the Cardinals, namely deprivation of all their dignities and benefices in the case of all those who were proved to be heretics. It was left to the Inquisition to decide which of the bishops, as being only *contumaces*, had incurred the penalties threatened in the *monitorium*; should they allow the year's grace now given them to pass without taking advantage of it, then definite proceedings were to be taken against them, and the accusations against them taken as proved.

On the same October 22nd Pius IV caused a summons to be issued by the Inquisition, by which, on pain of losing all her possessions, Jeanne d'Albret was cited to appear within six months before the Roman Inquisition to answer the accusations made against her. Cardinal Guise once more interceded with the Pope on behalf of Jeanne d'Albret, Chatillon and the seven bishops, and sought to induce him to receive Noailles. The Pope's reply amounted to an absolute refusal, and showed how determined he was to do his duty by taking action against the aforesaid persons in the interests of religion. It is of course beyond doubt that the Pope was within his rights in so doing, but it is another question whether such procedure was opportune at that time. Guise did not fail to call the attention of Pius IV, through Morone, to the fact that in thus insisting upon strict justice he was really furthering the plans of the Huguenots, who desired nothing so much as to prevent the acceptance of the decrees of the Council by France; only when this matter had been satisfactorily accomplished could the fitting time come for taking further definite action. These considerations, together with the threatening attitude of the French government, led the Pope to defer the formal publication of the sentence on the seven bishops. He was able to do this because a year had been allowed to the condemned to come to a changed state of mind. But even when this period of grace had elapsed without their taking advantage of it, the sentence still remained unpublished, though it was in no sense withdrawn.<sup>1</sup> In the same way no steps were taken against the Queen of Navarre, who was under the protection of Catherine. This considerate conduct sprang from the wish, so often shown before, to avoid a definite rupture with France, a wish which was also responsible for the concessions made by the Pope in the matter of the concordat. He was confirmed in his attitude by the behaviour of Catherine, who also, for her part, was careful not to drive things to an extremity. Noailles was recalled on December 17th, 1563, and a new envoy sent to Rome in his stead in the person of Henry Clutin d'Oissel, who presented a memorial setting forth the Gallican point of view of the government with regard to the French bishops

summoned to Rome. By that time, however, another matter had become the absorbing topic of interest, the acceptance of the decrees of Trent. Cardinal Guise and the nuncio Santa Croce laboured to bring this about with all their power, but they met with the greatest opposition. L'Hôpital would not consent to the acceptance of the decrees on any terms, and Catherine was guided entirely by his advice.

To the first request made by Santa Croce Catherine had replied that with regard to the acceptance of the decrees of the Council she must first consult Guise, while even after this had been done she made the excuse that she must wait for the Pope's confirmation. When this had arrived she found another pretext for delay in the hesitating attitude of Philip II. This pretext being also disposed of, Catherine put forward the view that a healthy country like Spain could stand far more violent treatment than a sick one like France, which drew from Santa Croce the retort that a sick man is in far more urgent need of medicine than a healthy one.

The truth is that Catherine, acting under the advice of L'Hôpital, never seriously intended to accept the decrees of the Council. On February 25th, 1564, she referred the decrees to a commission of councillors of state and members of the Parliament. Their judgment was that there were many things in them which ran counter to the royal privileges and the liberties of the Gallican church. In addition to a number of special points of difficulty, among which was the prohibition of regular benefices being held in commendam, the consideration which above all caused their rejection was the fear of the Huguenots, whom Catherine was determined not to offend on any account. Her fear of them was so great that she would not even allow the nuncio to distribute the printed decrees among the prelates. It was on this occasion that the queen made complaint of the attitude of the Pope with regard to the dispute as to precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors in Rome, which, she said, had given offence throughout France.

This dispute, which had only with great difficulty been smoothed over in the Council at Trent, was renewed when the new French ambassador Oissel arrived in Rome at the beginning of February. Oissel announced that he had instructions to depart, and to withdraw the *obedientia* of France if the Pope were to raise the slightest question as to the right claimed by her that her ambassador should hold the next place after the representative of the Emperor, and always rank before that of Spain. The Spanish ambassador, Requesens, at once announced that he would leave Rome at once should the Pope arrive at a decision unfavourable to the claims of Spain. A letter which arrived from Philip II on March 22nd, made it clear that he too was determined in such an eventuality to break off diplomatic relations. Pius IV was thus driven to seek a way out of a dilemma which seemed bound to lead to a rupture with one or other of these great Catholic powers. Accordingly, as a first step, he re-frained from taking part in any public ceremony of the Church, on the pretext of ill-health. When Holy Week drew near, the dispute was still unsettled. The excuse which he had hitherto given was no longer of any use, since the Pope's health was now very good. At the washing of the feet and the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* on Maunday Thursday it had never been customary to assign special places to the ambassadors, but on this occasion the French ambassador insisted on being present, even though the Pope

should threaten him with excommunication. The Imperial ambassador therefore thought that it was not in keeping with his master's dignity that he should absent himself from the ceremony. Accordingly on Maunday Thursday (March 30th) he as well as the French and Spanish ambassadors presented themselves at the Vatican, all three determined to maintain their rights at all hazards. So as to avoid a public scandal the Pope withdrew by a secret staircase to the loggia, where he gave his blessing; only the sound of the cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo made it known to the ambassadors who were waiting in the Hall of Constantine that the function had taken place. Oissel then attempted to join the suite of the Pope on his return, and was only prevented from doing so by force. He thereupon demanded his passports, and only the united efforts of the Pope and Cardinals Este and Morone were successful in inducing him to give up his departure, from which a complete rupture with France was to be feared. They tranquillized him by assuring him that the dispute would be settled by Pentecost. Pius IV thought that Philip II would have given way by then; the king, indeed, had given cause to hope that this would be the case, but he now declared that the affair had gone so far that he could not withdraw the instructions he had given to his ambassador. On Ascension Day the Pope took no part in the functions, but to absent himself again at Pentecost seemed to be out of the question, not only because any further absence seemed hardly in keeping with the dignity of the head of the Church, but also because the period of delay promised to the French ambassador had come to an end. All attempts to arrive at a compromise had failed, and the time had come to take up a definite stand. The Pope therefore decided that without any prejudice to the rights of the rival claimants, the precedence hitherto allowed to the French ambassador over the Spanish one was to be continued. Requesens therefore was not present at the High Mass on the day of Pentecost (May 21st) but instead made a protest and broke off all relations with the Curia. On receiving his report Philip II, in the middle of July, ordered him to leave Rome, a step which Pius IV diplomatically accepted as the result of a complaint which he had made at the arbitrary imprisonment by Requesens of a licenciado. As a matter of fact Philip himself did not wish to drive matters to an extremity; he had only recalled Requesens from Pius IV, but not from the Holy See, and the charge of his ecclesiastical interests was entrusted to Cardinal Pacheco. The king felt that any further action, such as the withdrawal of the obedientia, would be imprudent, and he accordingly accepted the decrees of the Council, except in so far as they ran counter to his privileges.

The attitude of the French government was very different. The Pope had hoped to induce them to accept the decrees of the Council by his recent procedure. With this purpose he sent Ludovico Antinori to France in October as envoy extraordinary. The envoy at the same time took with him the permission for the alienation of Church property, and was to hold out hopes of the legation of Avignon being conferred on Cardinal Bourbon. In spite of this the French government continued to make evasive replies on the question of the acceptance of the decrees of the Council. Catherine, who wished for peace at all costs, adhered to her contention that the reform decrees were an infringement of Gallican liberties. The loyal Catholic bishops in France thought otherwise, and endeavoured in their provincial synods to carry the decrees of the Council into effect. Cardinal Guise gave a shining example in this at the synod which he held at Rheims in 1564.

Santa Croce had continued as nuncio in France during all these events. His reports will always be an important authority for this period of French history, painting as they do in vivid colours the attitude of Catherine de' Medici both towards the Catholics and the Huguenots. Santa Croce's account of the first civil war, in which he gives a minute description of its atrocities and horrors to his friend Pietro Benedetti, form an important addition to his reports. He wrote this when his nunciature was drawing to an end. On March 12th, 1565, he received the richly deserved reward of his perseverance in his very difficult task by his elevation to the purple, but this did not yet bring with it the recall he so much desired. Thus it fell to his lot to take part in the famous meeting which Catherine and Charles IX held, between June 14th and July 4th at Bayonne, with Queen Elizabeth of Spain and Alba. Catherine was led to this by her wish to enter into better relations with Philip II, and at the same time to under-mine his enormous influence; she also wished to pave the way for advantageous marriages for her sons.

This meeting excited great interest, and filled the Pro-testants with grave anxiety, the more so as its negotiations and the decisions arrived at remained concealed behind a veil of complete secrecy. Only recent research has lifted this veil. It is clear that at Bayonne no treaty in the true sense of the word was arrived at, and that only oral promises were made. These were concerned in the first place with the acceptance of the decrees of the Council; Catherine demanded a revision of the reform decrees, to be made by an assembly of prelates, but Alba rejected such a "counter-council." At last Santa Croce arranged a compromise, by which the French government pledged itself to accept the decrees after they had, with the Pope's consent, been subjected to examination by trustworthy Catholics, who, however, were not to touch upon dogma. With regard to her attitude towards the Huguenots Catherine made a general promise to take strong measures against them. The treacherous queen, however, never had any intention of fulfilling the promise wrung from her by Alba. Pius IV was the first to see through her deceitful game. When Cardinal Pacheco, by the order of Philip II, communicated to him the results of the meeting at Bayonne, the Pope advised him to put no faith in Catherine's word; she had often made similar promises, but had always found excuses and had never done anything. The only way to restore the old state of affairs in France was to take serious action against Coligny, Conde and L'Hôpital. This, however, could not be done without having recourse to arms, and it was just that that the queen-mother shrank from. As before, her aim was the holding of a national council in France, which should discuss further concessions, so as to quiet the Huguenots. It was obvious to Catherine that Pius IV would never consent to any such thing, but she was counting on the early death of the ailing pontiff. It was for this reason that at Bayonne she had discussed the question of the next Papal election in great detail with her daughter, the Queen of Spain, pointing out to her that the elevation of the weak Cardinal Este, who was devoted to herself, was important and even necessary in the interests of the French government.

During the Bayonne conference a definite decision was also come to as to the status of the Jesuits in France. Long disputes had preceded this decision, which had brought out with surprising clearness the attitude of the most influential corporate bodies in France towards the rights of the Holy See.

As early as January, 1551, Henry II had ordered the legal recognition of the Jesuits, but, relying upon the opinions of the Bishop of Paris and the University, the Parliament had obstinately refused to register the royal letter, and thus give it the full force of law. After this the whole question was dropped for many years, and it was only in 1558, when the energetic and skilful Cogordan had been appointed to assist the French provincial, that the matter was once more pressed by the French Jesuits with all their power. Francis II. was well inclined to their endeavours, but the beginning of the Huguenot war was not a suitable moment to try and break down the resistance of the Parliament to the royal power. On February 12th, 1560, the king endeavoured to secure the registration of the royal letter of 1551, but the Parliament would not obey. On April 25th, 1560, there was issued a second royal edict, which was of wider scope than the former one, in so far as it provided for the admission of the Jesuits, not only to Paris, but to the whole kingdom. But once more the Parliament, as a first step, asked for the opinion of the bishop and the university. After this the king sent notice to the Parliament that they must clearly state before the court whether they intended to obey or not, and to give their reasons for objecting to the Jesuits. But, neither in response to this notification, nor a second, did any of the officials condescend to put in an appearance. For a second time the opinion of Bishop du Bellay was asked; he thereupon gathered together all the parish priests of Paris, put the case before them from his own point of view, and obtained a unanimous declaration from them that the Order of the Jesuits was incompatible with the liberties of the Gallican church. Du Bellay then had recourse to the university, which replied in the same sense, giving as one of its reasons that the Order had not been approved either by an ecumenical council or by a provincial one. In full keeping with its Gallican ideas, the university completely ignored the Pope's approval.

Cogordan, however, did not yet lose heart. Since it was the Papal privileges which constituted the principal grievance against the Jesuits, he declared before the Parliament that he asked for nothing more than was possessed by the Mendicant Orders, who were fully recognized in France. At the same time he obtained from Francis II. a further royal letter, dated October 9th, 1560. This letter stated that the Jesuits, as they had themselves declared, had no wish to infringe upon the rights of the parish priests and bishops, that the Papal bulls had made no concession contrary to those rights, and concluded by urging the Parliament to recognize those bulls. This letter was the first to meet with success. The Parliament, it is true, tried yet again to escape compliance by appealing to the bishop, but the latter now declared himself, though with many reservations, in favour of the Jesuits. On December 23rd, 1560, Catherine renewed the edicts of Henry II and Francis II. The Parliament made a fresh attempt to bring the university into the field against the Jesuits, but at length declared, on February 22nd, 1561, that the decision might be made either by the States General or by the religious conference at Poissy, or by the next ecumenical council.

Pius IV had recommended the cause of the French Jesuits to his legate in France, Cardinal Este. The French Cardinals, Tournon, Lorraine, Armagnac and Guise were also favourable to them, while the boldness of the Protestants at Poissy could not fail to recommend to them an Order which had as its special work the defence of the old religion and of the Apostolic See. Accordingly the question of the Jesuits had been included among the subjects which the Catholics wished to bring forward at Poissy. During the interval between the two sittings of



September 9th and 16th, it was resolved for various reasons to refer the matter to the Bishop of Paris. Acting upon his opinion, the prelates signed, on September 15th, 1561, a document in which, though in very guarded terms, they recommended the recognition of the Jesuits. They were to be admitted, not as an Order, but as a society or college, to give up their name, to be in all things subject to the bishops, and to renounce the privileges granted to them in the pontifical bulls. On the strength of this document, the Parliament, on February 13th, 1562, recognized the Jesuits under the name of the Society of the College of Clermont. Thus at length was obtained the long desired recognition, with all its important consequences ; the restrictions under which it laboured were very soon one by one abolished.

The days of struggle, however, were far from being ended. Even though the Parliament had been so far won over that it even began to take the Jesuits under its protection, on the other hand the university made all the difficulties it could. Once they had obtained legal recognition, the Jesuits endeavoured to make their college in Paris one of the principal educational establishments of the Order. A large house was bought, licence to give lectures was obtained from the Rector of the university, the course of studies which had been begun at the end of February, 1564, was gradually extended, and a number of distinguished professors summoned to Paris.[543] Among these was the Spaniard, Maldonatus, who had a great name as an authority on the Holy Scriptures, but who, at Paris, first lectured in philosophy. In view of the unbelief, which was steadily taking a firmer hold upon the upper classes, Maldonatus treated in his lectures, not on fruitless subtleties, but on the doctrine of God and the immortality of the soul, and in consequence of his learned treatment of these subjects it soon was found that no hall could accommodate the crowds who flocked to hear him, while every seat was filled two or three hours before the beginning of the lecture. The other professors of the new college also taught with great success, and their lecture-halls were filled while those of the university became more and more empty.

The ill-will of the University professors, some of whom, like Pierre Ramus, were Huguenots, led to a series of attempts to silence these inconvenient rivals by means which were certainly not academic. In the first place they maintained that the faculty to lecture which had been granted to the Jesuits contained a defect in form. The provincial thereupon provisionally suspended the lectures, but the students showed their displeasure so violently that the Parliament ordered the Jesuits to recommence them. Then the university caused the famous jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was a Protestant, and very hostile to the Jesuits, to draw up a legal opinion on the controversy, and, at a meeting on October 8th, 1564, followed up his condemnation of the Order by one of their own. The fresh order for the suspension of the lectures was, however, at once cancelled by the Parliament.

Du Moulin had represented it as being something “monstrous, fatal, and contrary to public justice” that the Jesuits should be allowed to deliver lectures, independently of the university. Emboldened, perhaps, by the two judgments which had been given in their favour by the Parliament, the accused now sought to put an end once for all to this charge, which was indeed quite groundless, by putting forward a respectful request that they might be incorporated in the university. They declared their readiness to forego all the dignities and

emoluments, as well as the right of conferring academic degrees, or of themselves holding honorary academic positions. On the other hand, should their request be complied with, they promised complete obedience to the rector and statutes of the university, in so far as their own institute permitted.

The reply of the university to this petition was a renewed prohibition to teach, and a threat to the students that they would forfeit all their rights and privileges if they attended the lectures of the Jesuits. The latter then had recourse to the law, by calling for the protection of the Parliament against the attacks of the university on February 20th, 1565.

This step let loose upon the new Order so terrible a storm that even their friends gave them up for lost. All Paris took sides, either for or against the Jesuits. They were overwhelmed with satires and lampoons; on the same day and at the same hour sermons were preached against them in twelve different pulpits, and they were unable to show themselves in the neighbourhood of the university without being stoned. During the legal proceedings, the speech of their opponents' advocate, the clever and eloquent Etienne Pasquier, injured their cause considerably. His account of the history of Loyola, of the beginnings of the Company of Jesus, and of the contents of their statutes is all taken from Chemnitz, and is a tissue of lies, misrepresentations and distortions. But the audacity with which the most fantastic accusations were set forth as irrefutable truths, and the tone of conviction which this clever advocate knew how to give to his words, as he came forward in the role of the champion of law and religion against a faction of the enemies of progress, could not fail to make a deep impression in many quarters, and for centuries Pasquier's invectives remained a mine for attacks on the Jesuits. The real reason for the strong feeling against the Jesuits comes out many times in his speech, namely the essential antagonism felt by men of Gallican ideas to these champions of the Holy See. When ecclesiastical superiors, Pasquier said, have tried to use their powers wrongfully to the injury of the king's majesty, the Paris university, with the assistance of this parliamentary tribunal, has always resisted them, just as though a permanent ecumenical council were assembled in that city for the defence of French subjects. Paul III, he maintained, had confirmed the Jesuits for purely political reasons, because they bound themselves by vow to exalt the Pope above every other power on earth ; the Bishop of Clermont had brought them to Paris so that the Pope might have a court of his own there. Nothing in the constitutions of the Society of Jesus roused the ire of Pasquier so much as the fourth vow of the professed members, by which they promised special obedience to the Pope with regard to the missions.<sup>1</sup> Similar views had been expressed in the opinion given by the university on the question of the admission of the Jesuits to that body. In this it was plainly stated that the incorporation with the university which they asked for could not be allowed because they placed the Pope above the Council.

In spite of everything, however, the final result of this sensational suit was not all that the friends of the university desired. Parliament refused to decide definitely in favour of either party, and on April 5th, 1565, it decided that in the matter of the Jesuits things were to remain in statu quo. A fresh prohibition of the Jesuit schools on the part of the university met the same fate as its predecessors. At the Bayonne conference in 1565, the Jesuit Possevino obtained for the members of his Order a fresh letter from the Parliament, dated July 1st,

1565, which gave them permission to open colleges everywhere in France, and to call themselves the Company of Jesus. With this the hostility of the university to the new Order was silenced until 1594.

In reality, in spite of all the attacks upon it, the Order had steadily gained ground in France, even during the pontificate of Pius IV, and had founded colleges at Tournon in 1561, Rodez in 1562, Toulouse in 1563, Mauriac in 1564, Avignon, Chambery and Lyons in 1565; under Pius V the colleges at Verdun, Nevers and Bordeaux were added to these. During the course of the struggle between the Jesuits and the university, Pius IV. himself, in the last year of his reign, had thrown into the scales his own influence as supreme pontiff, by pointing out to the king that the Society of Jesus had been approved and confirmed by the Pope and by the Council of Trent, that in many countries of Europe it had done a great work in defence of the faith, while in Rome itself it enjoyed the protection and esteem of the Pope.

CHAPTER XVIII

State of Religion in England.

In England the young Queen Elizabeth had apparently, even in the time of Paul IV, almost entirely destroyed the edifice so laboriously built up by her elder sister. The crown had set itself to the work of taking possession of the ecclesiastical property restored by Mary, the monasteries were suppressed, while the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had destroyed the authority of the Pope, and compelled all the faithful to attend the Anglican worship.

In spite of all this, however, English Catholics did not look upon their cause as lost. The change of religion, it was stated in a memorial to Pius IV in 1559, rested entirely upon the will of the queen; many important persons as well as most of the common folk were still devoted to the old religion; Elizabeth, moreover, had not enforced the new laws with any great rigour; there was therefore still hope that in time, either spontaneously or by force of circumstances, the queen would seek for reunion with Rome. Similar views were put before the Pope by the former English ambassador, Edward Carne, and by Francis Englefield, who during the reign of Queen Mary had been a member of the royal council, but who had left England on account of the religious laws, and was now living at Padua.

The Spanish ambassadors in London, Count Feria and his successor, Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, based their hopes upon quite other motives. The one ally of England, even in the time of Queen Mary, had been King Philip of Spain. It seemed inconceivable to the Spanish ambassadors that Elizabeth could persist in alienating this one ally by her religious legislation; the policy of the young queen was, speaking generally, altogether incomprehensible to them. Again and again they declared that Elizabeth could not go on in the course she had adopted, because it was obvious to everyone that she must soon meet with disaster on account of her indiscretions. The twenty-five year old and frivolous queen, who, by reason of her open adulterous relations with the married Robert Dudley, had forfeited the popular favour, was, in the eyes of the Spaniards, nothing but an inexperienced young girl, given up to fashions, vanities, caprices and love affairs, but who, as far as politics were concerned, had placed herself blindly in the hands of unscrupulous advisers, and who was hastening to a disastrous end.

It was only by slow degrees that de la Quadra realized how mistaken he had been in his estimate of the young queen. It was quite true that Elizabeth loved pomp and pleasure, but before everything else she was determined to remain queen, and she was a born ruler. In spite of her youth she had clear views as to the aims and methods of her policy, and these she had carefully weighed with her principal adviser, William Cecil. With rare judgment she knew how to choose her

advisers and tools, while she had grasped the political conditions of Europe with extraordinary shrewdness, and had made her arrangements for the attainment of her ends with iron inflexibility. But above all she very soon proved herself unequalled in intrigue and deceit. While still an infant she had lost her mother, when three years old she had been declared illegitimate and thrown upon the mercies of an openly antagonistic world. In these difficult conditions her character had developed in an extraordinarily crooked manner. She was excitable, irritable to a quite undignified degree, artificial, over-sensitive, devoid of all good feeling, and entirely lacking in all nobility of heart or mind. The adverse circumstances of her youth had caused her prematurely to have recourse to intrigue as her only means of defence. Her name was to be found mixed up in almost all the conspiracies against Queen Mary, but with incomparable skill she invariably succeeded in escaping from the most dangerous situations. Now that she was queen she had the effrontery to declare with sighs in the presence of the Spanish ambassador that she desired to be a nun in a convent cell, and to spend her days in prayer, while all the time, to use an expression of de la Quadra, "she had a hundred thousand devils in her." She could adapt herself to any role; she knew how to act the queen, full of majesty and dignity, just as well as she could, if occasion demanded, show herself amorous or pious, Catholic or Protestant. In this way, in order to deceive the world as to her real intentions, she would sometimes pretend to be a frivolous and impressionable girl, who, for example, would cause her admirer, the Archduke Charles of Austria, to be informed that she often stood in admiration before his portrait, and could not take her eyes off it, while on the next day she would unctuously inform him "that she could not disregard the grace which Our Lord had given her, and that it would be her delight to live and die a pure virgin."

As far as she herself was concerned, Elizabeth was very little affected by any religious views; in her direction of the affairs of state her only God was success, and her gospel was that of Machiavelli. It was nothing but consideration for her own advantage which led her to base the whole of her policy upon the antagonism which, since the religious schism, had divided the peoples of northern Europe into two hostile camps. Since the marriage of the Scottish queen, Mary Stuart, with the heir to the French throne, it seemed as though the two kingdoms nearest to England must be united under one sceptre. The military resources of England, however, were not sufficient to hold their own against a Franco-Scottish alliance; the kingdom, which now numbers 32 million inhabitants, then contained but three or at most five millions, while the condition of its fortresses and armies were only calculated to excite the derision of military experts.

In the face of the real or possible dangers of the political situation, it was very far from Elizabeth's intentions to unite herself with her brother-in-law, Philip, and thus commit herself to a Catholic policy. The unhappy example of her elder sister, as well as the weakness of Spain, were a warning to her. The English queen decided that it would be far more advantageous to her if she were to take up an independent position as a Protestant, and wherever it was possible to enter into friendly relations with Protestant subjects against their lawful rulers. In Scotland she encouraged the hatred of the Protestants for Mary Stuart, in France she supported the Huguenots against the house of Valois, and in the Netherlands she fomented the discontent of the future *gueux* against Philip II, and in this way she paralysed the activities of all those who might have proved a danger to her.

At the very beginning of her reign a memorandum of her principal adviser, William Cecil, gave expression to the view that she should lend her assistance to religious discontent abroad, and above all encourage the hopes of those who "were inclined to good religion." As early as 1560 the Spanish ambassador wrote that Elizabeth was resolved to set all Christianity on fire so as to secure peace in her own house; if the English intrigues should be successful, the queen, with the help of the new religion, would ruin all the neighbouring countries, and no one would any longer be safe by their own fireside. It was inevitable the whole tendency of her policy should have proved how illusory were the hopes of the return of Elizabeth to the Catholic Church.

It was of incalculable importance to Elizabeth that Philip of Spain still clung to these hopes. By means of her ambassadors in Spain the queen had caused the rumour to be spread that she was still at heart a Catholic; Philip, who was well aware of the fact that by his intercession on her behalf with Queen Mary, he had obtained the liberation of Elizabeth from the Tower, and thus saved both her life and her crown, was all the less able to disbelieve her assurances because it was an integral part of his policy to maintain his alliance with the English queen. In the event of Elizabeth's rule being overthrown, or should she be declared illegitimate, the next lawful heir to the English crown was Mary Stuart, who, immediately after the death of Mary the Catholic had assumed the arms and title of Queen of England. Philip was seriously afraid of the French obtaining possession of England, and if the most formidable rival of the Hapsburgs should succeed in uniting in his own person the crowns of Scotland and England, as well as that of France, the doom of Spain seemed to be sealed. In this sense Margaret of Parma wrote on December 8th, 1559, that it would be as fatal to tolerate the presence of the French in England as to open to them the gates of Brussels; should the French become masters of England, then Flanders would be torn from Spain. Granvelle too was of opinion that London must be defended as carefully as Brussels itself. In addition to all this, Philip at that time desired above all things a policy of peace, so as to afford to his exhausted country the quiet which it so long had lacked. Moreover, Spain was so ill equipped for war, and was so deeply in debt, that in 1557, and again in 1575, it was found necessary to declare a state of national bankruptcy.

Elizabeth, therefore, had nothing to fear from Philip; on the contrary, the Spanish king was rendering her important service. The king reported in Rome what Elizabeth had caused him to be informed as to her own Catholic sentiments, and it was Philip himself who dissuaded the Pope from taking stronger measures against Elizabeth, uniting himself for this end with Edward Carne and Francis Englefield, who sought to persuade the Pope that the change of religion in England was not to be attributed so much to the queen as to the counsellors by whom she was surrounded.

Under the influence of these advisers, and in accordance with their views, Pius IV, on May 5th, 1560, addressed a letter to Elizabeth, which was to be taken to her by Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of S. Solutore. The Pope, this letter stated, sincerely desired the prosperity and honour of the queen, as well as the consolidation of her power. Elizabeth therefore must take no heed of evil counsellors, who sought only their own advantage, but must accept the paternal advice of the Pope. For his part he promised to do everything he could in virtue

of his office to bring about the salvation of her soul, and to assure her position as queen. The letter ended with an invitation to the Council which he hoped would shortly assemble, and with a recommendation of his nuncio. On the same day Pius IV wrote to Philip II and to the King of the Romans, begging them to lend their assistance to his negotiations with the queen. Parpaglia left Rome on May 25th, and on June 17th he arrived at Louvain.

The mission of Parpaglia came at a very opportune moment for Elizabeth; for some time past the French had been bringing pressure to bear in Rome to induce the Pope to recognize Mary Stuart as lawful queen of England. Paul IV would not consent to do this, and the letter of Pius IV on May 5th, 1560, was calculated to put an end to any further anxiety on that score. But so long as Elizabeth paid no attention to the exhortations of the Pope and continued to force the Catholics to apostasy, it was not impossible that sooner or later they would take stronger measures in Rome; Pius IV, indeed, had already hinted at something of the kind. A bull of excommunication might have the most disastrous consequences for Elizabeth. Even though, in the changed conditions of the times, there was less reason to fear the loss of the throne, a thing which, according to medieval ideas, would have been the consequence of such a Papal condemnation, nevertheless excommunication would have the effect of breaking off or at least disturbing friendly relations with Catholic powers, and since England, as far as the great majority of her people was concerned, was still Catholic in opinion, it might easily result in internal disturbances.

As soon as the news of the mission of a nuncio to England was received, Elizabeth had a conference with the Spanish ambassador. She protested that she was as much a Catholic as the ambassador himself, and called God to witness that she believed all that the Catholics of her kingdom believed. When de la Quadra thereupon asked her why she acted against her conscience, and caused her subjects to apostatize from the true religion, she replied that she was for the present forced to act in that way, and that if the ambassador knew the true state of the case, he would certainly hold her excused. De la Quadra acted as though he accepted these assertions, and he sought to hold the queen as firmly as possible to her statements, so that later on he might be able, should she speak in another sense, to convict her of her inconsistency. At length he even forced her to declare that she would willingly receive the nuncio, and that it would not be her fault if union with the Church were not restored.

The difficult task of keeping Parpaglia out of England, without thereby again exciting the resentment of the Pope against her, was spared to Elizabeth, for Philip II relieved her of it. Unfortunately for Parpaglia it was taken for granted at the Spanish court that his mission was the outcome of French intrigue, and was merely a French political move. For this reason he had to be prepared to meet with difficulties on the part of Spain. Moreover, Philip II looked upon it as certain on a priori grounds that the queen would not receive the nuncio; at the same time, so it was thought in Spain, the Pope would be bound to meet the open rejection of a Papal envoy by excommunication and deposition, and the Catholic King would be charged with the carrying out of the sentence; otherwise the courage of the English Catholics would fail, and the Spanish king would be discredited on all sides. On the other hand, however, just then, when peace had hardly been concluded, a war with England was the very thing that could not be contemplated.

Moreover, not only was the moment for sending a nuncio ill-chosen, but so was the person selected for that office. Parpaglia was looked upon as a French partisan<sup>1</sup> and only eighteen months before Philip had had him banished from Flanders under threat of death, as a French spy. Nor could he be welcome at the court of Elizabeth, on account of his close relations with Cardinal Pole, whom she had detested.

On receipt of the news that Parpaglia was going to England, Philip at once caused remonstrances to be made in Rome. He then sent instructions to Margaret of Parma to detain Parpaglia at Brussels until Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, should have made representations to the Pope. On July 10th Parpaglia received a letter from Borromeo, and another from Vargas; if he should not have already departed for London, the Pope ordered him to wait at Brussels, while should he have already reached England he was to be guided in all things by the advice of de la Quadra and not leave the country without further instructions.

In this way Parpaglia's mission was frustrated; all that remained to be done was to find some suitable pretext for his honourable recall. It could not be openly stated that consideration for Spain had been the determining factor in his recall, for that would have given offence to France, which had advocated the mission of Parpaglia. According to Vargas' letter to the nuncio, the Pope would now have preferred that Elizabeth should refuse him his passport to England, and that he would have liked de la Quadra to have influenced the queen in that sense. But, as the Duchess of Parma pointed out, if any such reasons were to be given for the recall of Parpaglia, the French in Rome would be encouraged to make further demands against Elizabeth, while on the other hand it would be impossible to pass over in silence such an insult as the refusal of a passport, without driving the English Catholics to despair. Margaret therefore advised that the Spanish ambassador should write to Parpaglia to the effect that, having carefully examined into the state of affairs, he had come to the conclusion that the granting of the passport was full of difficulties, and that therefore Parpaglia would be well advised not to ask for it, and to postpone the execution of his mission until the conclusion of peace and the opening of the Council.

De la Quadra wrote the suggested letter on July 25th, and on the same date he wrote to the Duchess of Parma that it would not be impossible to obtain the passport, but that the queen wished first to see the dispatches carried by Parpaglia. She would refuse to receive the Papal letters unless in them she were accorded all her titles. This was as much as to say that she would in no case receive the nuncio, because they certainly would not give her in Rome the title of "defender of the faith" (Defensor Fidei). The queen added that the sending of a nuncio was unnecessary, since she was so firmly fixed in her faith that she would die rather than change it; de la Quadra had better see to it that Parpaglia did not come, since she did not wish to give displeasure to the Pope. Then she remembered that she had formerly told de la Quadra that she was of the same faith as himself, and began to argue with him, finally saying that in all essentials there was hardly any difference between herself and the ambassador.

The nuncio in France also wrote to Parpaglia that he had better not proceed any further in the matter, and in October Parpaglia returned to Italy.



Philip II was severely blamed by Catholics for his action with regard to the mission of Parpaglia; the English Catholics complained that it was his policy which was responsible for the fact that heresy had taken such deep root in their country. When Nicolas de Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, and Papal legate in Scotland, passed through London on his return home, he informed the Spanish ambassador there that in his opinion the mission of a nuncio to England was exceedingly opportune. The French ambassadors in Scotland, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Randan, made similar complaints against Philip. Pelleve<sup>1</sup> saw the reason for Philip's indirect support of "Elizabeth's evil cause" in the king's matrimonial plans for the English queen.

It was quite true that from the first Philip had entertained the idea of winning over Elizabeth to the Hapsburg policy by means of some suitable marriage, and thus forcing her to renounce her support of the religious changes; he hoped that he would thus be able to attain his ends by peaceful means, more easily than by having recourse to war or force. First of all he offered his own hand to his royal cousin, and when Elizabeth rejected this, he caused the Archduke Charles of Austria to be put forward in his stead. These suggestions were not displeasing to the queen, because so long as there was any possibility of a Hapsburg marriage she thought she would be safe from a Papal excommunication. Taught by the experience of her elder sister, she had resolved not to marry at all, and had definitely given expression to this resolve before Parliament. On another occasion, however, she had expressed herself in the opposite sense, so that no one knew what she really intended, and the hopes of her suitors were constantly receiving fresh encouragement. Many others, besides the Hapsburgs, aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. The queen did not formally reject any of them, she allowed presents to be made to her by all of them, and drew much political profit from the friendship of her many suitors. Her own subject, Robert Dudley, was the one who, above all, enjoyed her favour. When the wife of the latter met with a violent end, the rumour was soon current at court that Eliza-beth had already married him in secret.

Elizabeth made use of her relations with Dudley to confirm Philip in his illusions as to her own religious opinions. In January, 1561, a relative of Dudley, Henry Sidney, went to de la Quadra and pointed out to him how advantageous it would be for King Philip if Elizabeth could be induced to marry Dudley, because the latter was prepared to serve the king as his vassal, and Elizabeth would thereby be disposed to restore the old religion by means of the Council, in which case Dudley would certainly lend his aid; an attempt was even made to overcome de la Quadra's doubts as to this by a sworn statement. On February 13th Dudley himself paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador in order to confirm the promises made by Sidney, and he even went so far on a subsequent occasion as to say that he was prepared to go in person to the Council should an ordinary envoy not be enough. In the meantime Elizabeth acted as though she took the whole affair seriously. In the course of an audience of the Spanish ambassador she said, among many other things, that she would like to go to confession to him, and to tell him, under the seal of the sacrament, that she was not an angel, and that she could not deny her love for Dudley, but that she had not made up her mind to marry him or anyone else, although every day she saw more clearly the necessity of taking that step; she said that she could only marry an Englishman, and what would de la Quadra say if she were to choose one who was the devoted servant of

Philip? After Sidney's visit she began to single out the Spanish ambassador for special favour, and gave up persecuting the Catholics; on April 15th de la Quadra wrote to Philip II that during the past three years they had never been left in so much peace as during the last three months.

The English Protestants saw all this with great anxiety. As the queen's lover, Dudley was no less distasteful to them than to the Catholics; the violent death of his wife afforded the preachers occasion for making remarks in their pulpits which certainly did not redound to the good name of the queen. De la Quadra, however, did not allow himself to be deceived; he replied evasively to Elizabeth's demands, and advised the Catholics to build no hopes for success upon her marriage with Dudley. In spite of this he advised his king to support Dudley's schemes, pointing out that the marriage could only damage Elizabeth's reputation, and would make it impossible for her any longer to hold the diplomatists in suspense by means of their uncertainty as to her matrimonial intentions. Philip's attitude towards the matter was one of great caution and reserve, though Elizabeth's vacillations had for him the advantage that at any rate they caused the postponement of the arrival in England of a Papal nuncio. Philip sent instructions to Granvelle that the nuncio, whose mission had been suggested, must not start until the marriage of Elizabeth and Dudley had been openly decided upon.

In spite of the failure of Parpaglia, Pius IV had under consideration the sending of a fresh embassy to England. The Earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth had sent to the French court to convey her condolences at the death of Francis II, had, in the course of conversation with Catherine de' Medici, dropped the remark that there were many religious parties in England, and that the English queen would be glad of the advice of Catherine as to how she was to act. It was, he said, her intention to put an end to the religious strife by taking part in the Council, but that it seemed to her that the powers on the north of the Alps must act together in order that the Council should be able to carry on its discussions with the necessary freedom. Elizabeth put forward this proposal merely to bring into being, under pretext of the Council, a union of the English and French Protestants against the ecumenical council. Bedford's remarks reached the ear of the Duke of Savoy through his ambassador, Morette, and were passed on by the duke to Rome, where they now took it as certain that Elizabeth would send representatives to the Council. Pius IV, who had decreed the assembly of the Council of Trent on November 29th, 1560, and who was looking for the return of England to the Church by peaceful means, now, therefore, turned his attention to the presentation of the brief of May 5th to the English queen by the hands of a nuncio, and in this way to invite her to send representatives to Trent. The Pope's choice fell upon Girolamo Martinengo, a noble of Brescia, who, after having first refused, at length accepted the difficult mission.

In his instructions of March 9th, 1561, Martinengo was told to go in the first place through Germany to Brussels, and there take counsel with Granvelle and the Duchess of Parma, and to apply for a passport to England from Elizabeth. In London he was to place himself in communication with the Spanish and French ambassadors, but he was not to take up his abode with the former, and he must have his audience of the queen without his being present. Should the passport to England be refused, or should the queen delay in making reply, the nuncio was to

have recourse to Rome for further instructions. He was only to ask for the release from prison of the English bishops after the matter of the Council had been dealt with. At the beginning of April Granvelle received news that the nuncio had started from Rome.

On this occasion as well, Philip of Spain was not at first in favour of this Papal mission to Elizabeth. At the beginning of February his representative in Rome was instructed to ask the Pope to refrain from any such step, on the ground that it was impossible, on account of the religious disturbances in France, to take energetic proceedings against the English queen. Pius IV caused him to be informed that it was merely a matter of inviting her to the Council, yet Philip wrote to Flanders in April that the departure of Martinengo for England must be prevented. This letter, however, had no great effect upon the course of events; on the contrary, in the opinion of the Duchess of Parma, the negotiations of de la Quadra in London had gone too far to render any interference advisable.

Elizabeth found herself in a position of no small embarrassment on account of the mission of Martinengo. She was fully resolved not to admit any nuncio to England, yet, out of consideration for Philip II, she did not dare openly to forbid him to set foot in the country. Accordingly she sought first to gain time. She told de la Quadra that she was delighted that the nuncio was coming, but that he must remember that according to the laws of the land it was impossible to give the Pope the title of universal or supreme bishop, and that he could only be entitled the Bishop of Rome. On another occasion she declared that she was prepared to send representatives to the Council, and to accept its decrees, always supposing that it was a really free Council, but that she regretted that the Pope had not, as he had done in the case of the other princes, consulted her on the subject, and had thus treated her as a Protestant princess. She also said that she must have a guarantee that the bishops whom she sent would have a seat and a vote in the Council like the other Catholic bishops. By command of Elizabeth Cecil also had dealings with de la Quadra, though he went much further than the queen in the matter of making impossible conditions; at one time he insisted that the reconciliation with Rome should be brought about by means of a conference between the representatives of the Pope and the English theologians, while at another he claimed that the Papal brief must give the queen all the titles accorded to her by English law, and that otherwise it could not be accepted. In conversation with de la Quadra, Dudley was at pains to assure him that, both he and the queen were resolved to restore the old religion in England, and that Elizabeth only wished to put an end to the religious differences. At last things advanced so far that a place was arranged for the meeting between the queen and the nuncio; Greenwich was chosen for this purpose, so as not to expose the Pope's representative to the risk of the insults of the populace in the streets of London.

Before this, on April 12th, de la Quadra had written to the regent in the Netherlands to hurry forward Martinengo's journey, so that the queen might be forced to show her true colours. Margaret of Parma agreed to this, but wished that the ambassador should first obtain from Elizabeth the necessary passport for Martinengo. Cecil received the request with apparent courtesy, but on April 25th he paid a visit to the Spanish ambassador and made excuses for not being able to arrange the desired audience for the moment. When, however, he had another meeting with de la Quadra on the 28th, his attitude was very different; by that

time he had hit upon a pretext for still keeping the nuncio out of England without occasioning any great scandal. In the middle of April certain important Catholics had been imprisoned for hearing Mass, and Cecil now magnified this affair into a Catholic conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador was involved. Moreover, Pius IV had a short time before sent a nuncio to Ireland, which fact was made use of by the Secretary of State to pretend that this nuncio was stirring up the people in that country, and that he feared the same thing might happen if Martinengo came to England. Under these circumstances Cecil declared that there could be no longer any question of giving Martinengo a passport.

On May 1st, 1561, the queen's Privy Council met at Greenwich to come to a decision as to the admission of Martinengo. Even then many of the councillors were still hesitating to exclude the nuncio from England without further consideration, when the Lord Privy Seal, Nicholas Bacon, declared that it would be high treason to vote in favour of his admission, and in the end Cecil succeeded in winning over the whole Privy Council to his view.

On May 5th the Spanish ambassador was summoned to hear the decision of the Privy Council. De la Quadra refused to accept this, on the ground that he was not the ambassador of the Pope; the document was, therefore, merely read to him. This document stated that the admission of a Papal envoy was contrary to the laws of the land, was opposed to wise policy, and was calculated to result in disturbances and rebellion. It was, moreover, no new thing in England to refuse admission to Papal nuncios, for Queen Mary herself had done this when the Cardinal's hat had been sent to Peto from Rome. As far as the Council was concerned, the queen wished to have nothing to do with it. It was not a free Council, and the queen had had no information as to the place where it was to assemble, or of other circumstances connected with it, as should have been the case, and as had been the case with other princes. This was not to be taken as meaning, however, that the Anglican Church would not take part if at any time the princes should assemble a Council that was universal, free, Christian and holy. It was quite untruthfully stated in the document that this decision had been arrived at by the Royal Council unanimously and without opposition.

With this reply the separation of England from the universal Church was decided for centuries to come. Nothing but his realization of the enormous importance of this decision can explain why Pius IV, in spite of the insult offered to him, still considered it his duty as supreme pastor, to let no opportunity go by of winning over the sovereign of a country which was still for the most part Catholic. The uncertainty as to her own private opinions, which Elizabeth knew very well how to keep to herself, seemed still to hold out at least a glimmer of hope, which the Pope may have considered it a matter of conscience to take into account. He therefore, on June 29th, 1561, charged Cardinal Este, who had been sent as legate to France, to open negotiations with the Queen of England as well, and to make concessions to her if she would but return to the Church. When, on November 16th, the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, Morette, arrived in London on his way to Scotland, his companion, the protonotary Foix, on the strength of the remarks of the Earl of Bedford, had the bold-ness to seek an audience with Elizabeth. The queen made reply to his proposals that she should send representatives to Trent, by referring him to the decision of the previous May, and she accepted a letter from Cardinal Este with the remark that her

ambassador, Throckmorton, would send a reply to the Cardinal. This fresh attempt to win over Elizabeth naturally had no chance of success, but Pius IV wished to give proofs that as far as he was concerned he had made every possible attempt, and had left nothing undone. Before this the nuncio in France, Gualterio, had had equally unsuccessful dealings with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was violently opposed to the Catholics. When, at the end of 1563, Thomas Sackville, the son of the under-secretary of the Treasury, Richard Sackville, came to Rome during his travels in Italy, this seemed to all afford a fresh opportunity of finding out from both the son and his father whether there was any chance of the admission of a nuncio to England being allowed. At any rate it does honour to the goodwill of Pius IV that he should have made this attempt; it met with no success, and Richard Sackville informed his son that no one in England would dare so much as to suggest such a thing. In this way, in Rome as elsewhere, there remained for a long time great uncertainty as to the real views of the English queen.

After the rejection of Parpaglia and Martinengo, the question whether Elizabeth should not be formally excommunicated became acute. In a letter dated July 16th 1561, to his ambassador in Rome, Vargas, Philip II was strongly opposed to such a step, on the ground that it would be impossible to give effect to a Papal excommunication by deposing Elizabeth. The Emperor Ferdinand expressed himself in a similar sense on July 19th, 1563, when a memorial from the English Catholics in Flanders had put forward the suggestion that the Council of Trent should at least make a declaration that Elizabeth deserved to be excommunicated, even though the carrying into effect of the ecclesiastical censure might have to be deferred. Granvelle in like manner, in a memorandum to the Council, advised strongly against the excommunication. The Papal legates at Trent approved the Emperor's views. The Pope did the same on July 6th, although he had been inclined a short time before to decide in the sense suggested by the aforesaid English memorial. This set forth the view that the Catholics in England were confidently awaiting a declaration by the Council against Elizabeth, and that unless this were made the assembly would forfeit all respect in their opinion. There was no need to be held back by the fear lest such a step against Elizabeth would prejudice the position of the English Catholics, since the latter would willingly bear any such increase in their sufferings if only the Council would speak out on their behalf.

The fear that Elizabeth would retaliate by taking fresh steps against her Catholic subjects was well founded. The mission of the two nuncios, Parpaglia and Martinengo, had already brought about a change for the worse in the position of the English Catholics. During the first years of Elizabeth the cruel religious laws had only been enforced with full severity in the case of the Catholic bishops who had remained true to their duty, though, even in their case, the government had taken good care not to go to the length of shedding their blood. Two of the bishops were thrown into prison as early as the beginning of April, 1559, probably in order to remove from Parliament some who would be opposed to the new religious laws. By the end of 1559, however, the only ones who retained their sees were Stanley of Sodor and Man, and the apostate Kitchin of Llandaff, all the others having been deposed during the course of the year. The penalty of imprisonment followed that of deposition, the eighty-five year old Tunstall of Durham being thus imprisoned in the palace of the Anglican archbishop Parker, while Baine of Coventry-

Lichfield and Oglethorp of Carlisle were kept in custody in the house of Grindal, Bishop of London, a form of imprisonment more unpleasant to the prisoners than incarceration in the Tower. These three bishops died before the end of 1559. On January 12th, 1560, White of Winchester also died in the custody of his relatives, from fever which he had contracted during his long imprisonment in the Tower. Morgan of St. David's, who also did not outlive 1559, remained at liberty until the time of his death. In June, 1559, Goldwell of S. Asaph succeeded in escaping to the continent. Poole of Peterborough was allowed to remain at liberty in London, within a three mile radius.

Of the remaining bishops eight were thrown into the Tower or other prisons during May and June, 1560; Parpaglia wrote that this was probably due to the suspicions aroused by his prospective mission rather than to any other cause. The prisoners were treated with extreme severity; when the arrival of Martinego was expected, and an intercepted letter from the Tower expressed the hope that before long the imprisoned bishops would at least recover their liberty through the intervention of the Pope and the King of Spain, all communication with the outside world was refused them. It must be added that their life was in constant danger, while the successes of the Huguenots in France encouraged the government in December, 1562, to demand the taking of the oath of supremacy from the imprisoned bishops under threat of death. At the opening of Parliament on January 12th, 1563, the principal theme of the Protestant preachers, both at Westminster before the queen, and at St. Paul's before the convocation of clergy, was the necessity of putting to death "the caged wolves."

Elizabeth did not dare, however, further to provoke the Catholics before the conclusion of the war with France. When she became afraid lest the French should stir up a rebellion in England the treatment of the bishops became much less severe than it had been before. Elizabeth gave back his liberty to the Archbishop of York, Heath, who was ill, about the middle of the year. At the intercession of the Emperor Ferdinand, Thirlby of Ely, Turberville of Exeter, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Pate of Worcester, and Watson of Lincoln were released from the Tower and handed over to the custody of Anglican bishops, though even so their imprisonment was very strict. Only thoroughly Protestant servants were allowed to approach them, their custodians were not allowed, as was customary, to invite them to their table, but had to send them their meagre rations to their rooms; they were given nothing but Protestant books to read, they were forbidden to practise Catholic worship, and whenever possible they were forced to attend Protestant services and sermons. Only Archbishop Heath was allowed to remain in his own house; Scott of Chester, who was released from prison in 1564, and placed under police surveillance, escaped to Louvain, where he died in the following year.

The intercession of the Emperor had only succeeded for a short time in opening the gates of the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark to Bonner, Bishop of London, who was the most hated and feared of all the Catholic prelates. In 1564 an attempt was made to implicate him in fresh charges. The Protestant bishop, Horne, in whose diocese Southwark was situated, was deputed once again to make the attempt to get him to take the oath of supremacy, but Bonner was able to resist all his efforts in the most brilliant manner. He proved in an elaborate treatise that the Act of Supremacy was contrary to law, and that Horne was not a

person competent to exact the oath of supremacy, because he could not, even in English law, be considered a bishop. The proofs adduced by this able jurist were irrefutable, since both the consecration of the English bishops, and the Act of Supremacy, were, even under English law, full of illegalities. All further efforts to induce Bonner to take the oath of supremacy were given up, and in 1566 an attempt was made to remedy the legal defects which he had pointed out by means of a Parliamentary enactment.

The arguments put forward by Bonner, did not, of course, induce the government to restore the ancient hierarchy. With the death of Watson of Lincoln on September 27th, 1584, after 26 years imprisonment, the last remaining Catholic bishop in England died. When, a year later, Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, also died in Rome, the ancient English hierarchy became extinct. By the Catholics the imprisoned bishops were looked upon as almost martyrs; they realized that the extreme penalty had been withheld in their case merely in order that they might be deprived of the glory of martyrdom, and that their long drawn out suffering was worse than a violent death.

As had been the case with the bishops, the full rigour of the penal laws was not immediately put into force against the Catholic body in general. The Acts of Parliament which abolished the supremacy of the Pope and the Mass, and enforced attendance at Protestant worship, received the royal assent on May 8th, 1559. In giving this the queen expressed her thanks for the care and moderation which had marked the debates, and promised to enforce these wise new laws which were so necessary for the maintenance of peace, justice, and religious unity. The first steps in this direction were taken in June; England was divided into six districts, and visitors were appointed; these were, in the case of the counties, chosen principally from the nobility, but each visiting commission had attached to it a lawyer, or at least a theologian. It was the duty of the visitors above all to exact the oath of supremacy from the clergy, and to introduce the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Inspectors were to be appointed in every parish, who were to denounce all those who, without valid excuse, were absent from divine worship. Besides this they were to remove all traces of the old religious practices, and especially to replace the altars with simple tables. It was also their duty to destroy in private houses, reliquaries, pictures and images. A number of other regulations dealt with the introduction of the new religious conditions.

We only have full reports of the proceedings of these visitations in the case of southern England. Although the commission nowhere found any enthusiasm for the new religion, it yet did not there meet with any strong opposition. At Durham, however, the episcopal city of the much-loved Bishop Tunstall, the chapter declared, almost to a man, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority in England belonged to the Pope; at York a fourth part of the clergy refused to present themselves to take the oath, and a similar state of affairs was found at Chester and Carlisle. In other places, however, the parochial clergy showed themselves very compliant. The commission proceeded with great caution, gave time for consideration to those who refused the oath, and only deprived very few of their offices.

In London, the headquarters of Protestantism, the change of religion was received by the people with unconcealed joy. In the cathedral church of St. Paul

the visitors gave instructions for the destruction of the images, crucifixes and altars, and the order was eagerly carried out. In September, 1559, the Spanish ambassador wrote that the state of religion was worse than it had ever been; for eight days, he said, they had not ceased to burn crucifixes, images, vestments and sacred objects, and they were proceeding with such violence against those who refused the oath or to obey, that it seemed likely that in the course of a few days Elizabeth would burn more Catholics than her sister had sent heretics to the flames during her whole reign. For three weeks the populace was allowed to give free vent to its rage.

The royal visitations came to an end in October, 1559. In the meantime, on July 19th, a central permanent commission, consisting of three ecclesiastics, eight lawyers, and eight other laymen, had been set up; this was to carry out the royal power of visitation, give effect to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, watch over the attendance at divine worship, and see to other ecclesiastical ordinances. The task of exacting the oath of supremacy was also laid upon this commission in October. It began its work in November<sup>1</sup>, and in the following year the newly-appointed Anglican bishops again took up the work of visitation.

The results of these episcopal visitations were by no means satisfactory to the friends of the new ecclesiastical conditions. Many of the clergy still maintained "externally the dress, and in their hearts the religious opinions which they had inherited from the days of Papal rule, and they bewitched the eyes and ears of the populace to such an extent that people might suppose either that Papal doctrines had not yet been abolished or would shortly be restored." At Hereford the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady was still solemnly celebrated, and a strict fast observed on the vigil. Some who had refused to take the oath, and had been driven from Exeter, Worcester, and other places were lodged and entertained by the justices of the peace, and honoured with a torch-light procession, while the Anglican bishop was a stranger in his own diocese. At Winchester many of the laity escaped the visitation by changing their houses, and special difficulties were encountered in the case of the leading Catholics in the country districts. Six months later the Book of Common Prayer was still not in general use. The University of Oxford was a stronghold of Catholic doctrine. Bishop Horne of Winchester wrote to Cecil that if he were to take strict proceedings scarcely two people would be left in any house. In the diocese of Carlisle the clergy were, it is true, ready to subscribe to the oath, but the Anglican bishop himself admitted that this compliance was merely the result of fear. Pilkington, the Bishop of Durham, compared his visitation to a struggle with wild beasts, worse than that which Paul had to undergo at Ephesus.

Reports of Catholic origin make it clear, no less than these Protestant evidences, that by far the greater part of England, during the first years of Elizabeth, was still firmly attached in its opinions to the old religion. The populace, wrote Sanders to Cardinal Morone about 1561, is composed of peasants, shepherds and artisans; the peasants and shepherds are all Catholics, but some of the artisans are schismatics. The more distant parts of the country are still very far from being heretical, as for example, Wales, Devon, Westmoreland, and Northumberland. Since the cities of England are few and small, and since heresy has no hold in the country districts, it is the opinion of competent judges that not more than one per cent, of the English people is



infected. The Lutherans therefore speak of their adherents as “a little flock” De la Quadra wrote on January 16th, 1560, that the sacraments were still dispensed in England with the same frequency as of old, but in secret, and that in London many masses were celebrated every day.

Nevertheless England was lost to the Catholic Church. The followers of the old religion had no leader, they had no organization, and above all they had no clear principles. The Book of Common Prayer was made up of psalms, of passages from Scripture, and of prayers which could also be found in the Roman Missal. Many who passed as good Catholics persuaded themselves that it was sufficient to maintain their faith in their hearts, and that they could obey the civil authority in externals, such as singing the psalms and reading the Bible. At the same time they allowed themselves to attend the Protestant churches and services, and sought to quiet their consciences by blocking their ears with wool, so as not to hear the Anglican sermons. There were even priests who secretly offered the sacrifice of the Mass, and in public celebrated the Protestant worship, while some of the laity even went so far as to receive the Anglican communion, which in their opinion was nothing but a little bread and wine. The want of clearness of ideas on the subject was so great that, in 1562, some Catholics thought of putting before the Council of Trent the question whether it was lawful to assist at Anglican serviced and sermons. De la Quadra sent a request to Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, that he would, by the Pope’s orders, submit this question to certain theologians of the Inquisition. The reply of the Roman tribunal was a clear and decided negative. In spite of this, however, in 1592, Cardinal Allen found himself obliged to exhort the priests in England to be very careful not to teach or defend the view that it was lawful to take part in Protestant worship.

In view of this confusion as to questions of principle it is easy to understand how it was that the great majority of the clergy, in spite of their internal reluctance, accepted the oath of supremacy, and were followed in so doing by their flocks. On the other hand, the same thing explains why the government did not find it necessary to put the laws against the Catholics into force with extreme rigour, at any rate, for the moment; so long as the majority of the adherents of the old religion conformed outwardly and attended the Protestant worship, the new religion was bound, by slow degrees, and as it were naturally, to take root in their hearts. The fears inspired by the frightful penalties of the law worked in the same direction.

The aim of the new penal laws of 1563 was to add to these fears. While hitherto the penalties of praemunire and high treason had been attached only to the second or third offence against the Act of Supremacy, they were now to be incurred at the first or second act of defence of the Papal authority. At the same time the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy was extended to two further classes of persons; in the first place to all members of the House of Commons, and to all school-masters and lawyers, and secondly to all those who had ever held any ecclesiastical office, who openly showed disapproval of the State religion, or who celebrated or heard Mass. To those of the former class, the oath could only be offered once, and that under penalty of death. “The amazing violence and unlawful audacity of the followers of the Bishop of Rome” were given as the excuse for this extraordinary severity. This excuse, however, was quite without foundation as far as the English Catholics were concerned; Lord Montague was

quite right in stating in the Upper House that it was a well-known fact that the Catholics had not caused any disturbances in the kingdom. They did not hold disputations and they did not preach, they did not disobey the queen, nor did they put forward any new doctrines or tenets. Elizabeth, however, often complained of the hostility of the Guise in France, and at the end of 1562, in connection with the so-called conspiracy of the two Poles, she raised an outcry that they “were cultivating relations in this kingdom with rebels and enemies of the crown.” These complaints, however, were but an excuse.

Arthur Pole, the nephew of Cardinal Pole, had, as the representative of the White Rose, certain claims to the English crown. This young man, who was of a restless spirit, and combined great audacity with very little prudence or capacity, had at first offered his services to the English queen, but had been rejected; in 1561 he had been placed in the Tower with Waldgrave because he was suspected of being a Catholic and the government distrusted him. By the advice of certain sorcerers, he determined to leave England in September, 1562, as de la Quadra informs us, nominally on account of his religious opinions, but in reality to seek his fortune and, by the help of the Catholics, to obtain possession of the English crown. De la Quadra and the French ambassador, Foix, to whom he turned for aid, refused to help the visionary, who, when he was on point of taking ship, was imprisoned at the instance of an informer. He then confessed that it was his intention to take service under the Guise in France, to marry his brother Edmund to Mary Stuart, and himself become Duke of Clarence. The condemnation to death of the two brothers was not carried into effect, and they remained in the Tower till their death.

While the new religious laws were in preparation, the preachers fulminated in every pulpit against the “papists” giving as their reason the anti-Protestant demonstrations in Paris. There was never a sermon, wrote de la Quadra, which did not urge the killing of the Catholics; at the same time Cecil and his party were working for the same end. Had they but dared, scarcely a Catholic in the country would have been safe. But for the moment there could be no question of carrying out the religious laws in their full rigour; the duty of receiving the oath of supremacy was reserved to the Anglican bishops. At the suggestion of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker gave his suffragans instructions in a secret letter never to demand the oath a second time without first laying the full details of the case before him. It was also expressly forbidden by the queen that the oath should again be offered to the bishops in prison.

By this insistence on the oath of supremacy Catholics were excluded from Parliament and from any kind of office; in this way they were bound to become a despised caste, and they and their religion robbed of all respect. Frequent sermons on the pretensions of the Pope and the abominations of the Mass were formally ordered at the visitation of the diocese of Winchester in 1562. The most unseemly parodies of the old religion were openly tolerated and approved, and on January 6th, 1559, in a comedy of this kind, at which the queen was present, crows were represented in the cardinalial dress, asses in episcopal vestments, while wolves appeared as Catholic abbots. Pamphlets, issued with episcopal approbation, dragged in the mire everything Catholic, at home and abroad. The English Catholics were more heavily burdened with taxes than their fellow-subjects, while a custom grew up by which, whenever the Treasury was in special

need of funds, the government had the right to levy so-called “loans” from private individuals, though everyone knew that they would never be repaid. The Catholics were especially liable to demands of this sort, sometimes to the extent of a hundred pounds sterling a head. The war with France, which was essentially waged in order to assist the Huguenots against the French Catholics, was paid for, for the most part, with Catholic money. But the most oppressive burden upon those who professed the old faith was the tax levied for non-attendance at Protestant worship. The ordinary individual might escape taking the oath of supremacy, he might retire from any official position, but the terrible obligation of attending Protestant worship was brought home to him week after week, and he could not comply with this without denying his faith and his conscience, though the penalty for non-attendance, a shilling for each offence, was ruinous to a man of small means at a time when the value of money was ten or twelve times as great as at the present day. Attendance at Mass, on the other hand, was punished by the truly enormous fine of at least a hundred marks.

Few records have been preserved of the carrying out of these penal laws during the first years of Elizabeth. In the beginning extreme measures were only adopted when it was a case of bringing home the law, or when some political object was involved. When it was reported to the queen that the Catholic worship was still being carried on in several parts of London, she caused the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors to be visited during the time of Mass on the feast of the Purification (February 2nd), 1560, and imprisoned all who were assisting at Mass at the French embassy. The excuse she gave for this arbitrary proceeding was her fear that, under the guise of religious worship, intrigues were being carried on with the French ambassador; Elizabeth was very anxious to prevent Catholics from attending secret meetings, and on the same day she therefore had others, both priests and laymen, who had celebrated or heard Mass, thrown into prison. During May, June, and September, 1560, further severe penalties against the adherents of the old religion were formulated. In April, 1561, when the immediate arrival of the Papal nuncio, Martinengo, was expected, Cecil seized upon a pretext, quite insignificant in itself, for proving the hostility of the Catholics towards the state, and for taking severe measures against them. An English priest, who was embarking for Flanders, was recognized at Gravesend by his rosary and breviary, and thrown into prison; terrified by threats he made the following admissions: he was the chaplain of Sir Edward Waldgrave, a former councillor of Queen Mary; he was on his way to Flanders to distribute alms among the poor Catholic refugees; Mass was celebrated every day at the house of Waldgrave, where three or four priests dispensed the Sacraments. He also gave the names of a large number of noblemen and others who were accustomed to meet there. Cecil magnified all this into a formal “papistical” conspiracy, in which the Spanish ambassador and the imprisoned bishops were involved, and thus succeeded in providing a plausible reason for keeping Martinengo out of England. On April 20th the prisoners were taken under strong escort through the streets of London to the Tower, and soon afterwards sixty more, all of them noblemen and persons of importance, were thrown into prison. The persecution of the Catholics, the Spanish ambassador wrote on May 12th, 1561, is proceeding apace; in some places the mayors and town councillors have been put into prison for ill-treating, or not treating with due respect, the new preachers. The cause of religion, he writes again in August of the same year, is getting steadily worse; the Catholics are dying out, and those who remain are persecuted and forced into apostasy; the

governor of Guernsey, one of the most determined and worthy men in the kingdom, is dead, and Waldgrave will soon follow him; Lords Ludburn and Wharton have allowed themselves to be persuaded to take the oath of supremacy in order to regain their liberty, while in the prisons death by starvation is carrying off those who remain steadfast. In the middle of November six Catholic students of Oxford were sent to the Tower because they would not consent to the removal of a crucifix from their college chapel.

The outbreak of hatred against the Catholics, which came to a head in the severe laws of 1563, had already shown itself in the August of the previous year. Whereas hitherto only three commissioners had been charged with the task of proceeding against the Catholics, fifty were appointed on July 30th, and there was every likelihood that the sword would now be employed against the adherents of the old religion. Priests who refused to take the oath of supremacy were kept under strict supervision; they were obliged to live within certain areas, where they could more easily be watched; lists of "recusants" were drawn up, and arrests and imprisonments became more and more common. Towards the end of 1562 the Spanish ambassador thought there was reason to fear "terrible cruelty" against the Catholic prisoners in the Tower, even though the state of those imprisoned there was already so bad that they told the Warden of the Tower that they would rather be executed, "and today rather than tomorrow." About the same time the authorities even ventured on the hitherto unheard of act of violating the privileges of the foreign embassies; all foreigners in London, including all persons who were not naturalized, were forbidden to hear Mass at the house of the Spanish ambassador. In the following January the government even went so far as to close the doors of the Spanish embassy between the hours of 9 and 1, so that no one might be able to attend Mass there. According to a letter from de la Quadra, Elizabeth, at the end of February, promised those who were in prison for hearing Mass that they should again be permitted to resume their old manner of life, but, he adds that the queen must have changed her mind as to this, since the prisons were still filled with such prisoners. In the July of that year, however, Elizabeth was, at least for the moment, more mercifully inclined towards the Catholics.

Side by side with this persecution of the old Church went various attempts to consolidate the new religion. Since the May and June of 1559, only two of the old bishops had not been deprived of their sees; these were Kitchin and Stanley; it was therefore necessary, before everything else, to set up a new hierarchy. Elizabeth, however, was in no particular hurry to do this; Parliament had given the government the right to exchange Church property for other ecclesiastical goods which had already been confiscated, and the queen wished to see this exchange completed before she nominated new bishops. Matthew Parker had been chosen as Archbishop of Canterbury, and head of the new Anglican hierarchy in December, 1558. On August 1st, 1559, he was elected by the chapter of Canterbury, and consecrated on December 17th in the episcopal palace of Lambeth. Many difficulties, even from the point of view of English law, were raised as to the legality of this consecration, but the queen, by means of a clause in the deed of appointment of Parker, supplied for all these defects. By March, 1560, thirteen new bishops had been appointed, eleven of whom received their consecration at the hands of Parker; thus sixteen of the twenty-seven English sees were again filled.

The new bishops found their dioceses in a lamentable condition. In the archdeaconry of Colchester about a third part of the parishes had no pastor in 1563, and ten parishes in Colchester itself were vacant; three years later, out of 850 benefices in the diocese of London, about 100 were unfilled. At Rochester only 13 of the 64 parish priests were able to preach, yet this, in comparison with other dioceses, was a very favourable state of affairs. Grindal, the Bishop of London, ordained 100 clerics in four ordinations, while Parker ordained 150 in a single day, many of whom were ignorant artisans. In a speech at the opening of Parliament in 1563 it was stated that the preachers had no zeal, and that the laity refused to listen to the doctrine approved by the state. There were, it was stated, very few ecclesiastics, and many of these were quite incapable; discipline was relaxed to such an extent that everyone lived just as he liked and without fear of punishment.

Besides this, the Protestants were divided among themselves. Many who had fled to the continent under Queen Mary, had developed a taste for Calvinism in Switzerland; to such as these Anglicanism seemed to be a mixture of Catholicism and Protestantism, and by no means in conformity with the "word of God." Even many of the bishops were inclined to this so-called Puritanism. The differences of opinion showed themselves at first in comparatively trifling matters, as for example whether it was lawful at divine worship to retain any of the vestments which had been used in the old Church, the use of which was still permitted by the Book of Common Prayer.

The queen herself in many things clung to the external forms of the religion to which she had been accustomed since her youth. In her own chapel, a cross with two candles was before long replaced upon the altar, and she persisted in this in spite of the indignation of the Calvinists at such "a scandalous proceeding." Still more remarkable was Elizabeth's dislike for married clergy, and it was only with great difficulty that Cecil dissuaded her from her intention of imposing the vow of celibacy on her clergy.

The people were not asked for their opinion as to reform. Externally they obeyed the violence done to their consciences, but in their hearts they long remained attached to the old worship. The effect of the anti-Catholic legislation was not to produce enthusiasm for the new religion, but rather a growing indifference to all religion. The truth was that comparatively few people had the moral courage to sacrifice their property and their liberty rather than act against their conscience, or to submit to the hardships of a voluntary exile from their country, but those who did so were the noblest of their nation, and the glory of England and the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XIX

State of Religion in Scotland and Ireland.

In Scotland, where, since the XVth century the minority of three kings in succession had given a great impulse to the excessive influence of a depraved nobility, both the political and religious revolutions made great strides when, in 1542, after the death of James V, a new minority began. The heir to the crown, Mary Stuart, was but a few days old when her father died, and from the time of her sixth year she had been in France as the destined bride of Francis II. She had been driven abroad by the violence of Henry VIII, who wished forcibly to obtain her hand for his own son by means of a series of plundering campaigns, and in France she was more and more lost sight of by her future subjects.

In the meantime the young queen's kingdom was thrown into a state of anarchy and awful confusion by the campaigns of Henry VIII. In 1543, Lord Hertford was expressly charged by the English king to lay waste the northern kingdom with fire and sword. Edinburgh was in flames for three whole days, 192 towns, parish churches and castles, and 243 villages were destroyed and reduced to ashes, and the whole countryside laid waste. After the death of Henry VIII, Lord Hertford, who had now become Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, went on with the work which he had begun; he inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Scots near Pinkie, Leith was reduced to ashes, and the abbey of Holyrood sacked.

The decline of the ancient faith can be traced to this time of pillage and disaster. Broadly speaking Scotland was still Catholic at the time of the birth of Mary Stuart the Lutheran preachers had met with but little favour, and in 1535 Parliament had passed severe laws against them. The battle-cry of the Scots at Pinkie, "Death to the heretic English!" had proved that at that time the majority of the Scottish people still held firmly to the ancient faith, and also showed that they fully understood the true significance of the English invasion. It was only by slow degrees that the religious innovations gained ground during those years of turmoil, though the attempts made in the synods of 1549 and 1551 to remove the principal pretext for religious change by a reform of the clergy, and by improving the state of religious instruction among the people by means of a new catechism for the use of parish priests, did not meet with much success, even though the peace of Boulogne in 1550 put an end to the long war with the English.

During these wars the Scottish barons had played a disgraceful part. Won over by English gold, they voluntarily gave their services to the destroyers of their own native land "in order to introduce" as they said, "the Protestant religion into their fiefs, since the Bible was the foundation stone of all truth and honour. A list

of 200 such “men of honour” who had sold themselves to England, fell, after the death of Henry VIII into the hands of the Scottish regent, Arran.

At first the task of preaching the new religion in Scotland had been in the hands of quite unimportant persons; it was therefore an event of great importance that, after the accession to the throne of Queen Mary of England, many of the Protestant preachers whom she drove out took refuge in the neighbouring kingdom in the north. It was even more pregnant in its consequences when the man who had once formed the first Protestant community from among the murderers of Cardinal Beaton and their sympathisers, and who, after passing 19 months as a prisoner in the French galleys had preached with feverish zeal in England, and who was destined to become the real author of the Scottish religious schism, fled to Geneva through fear of Mary, there to drink in at their fountain head the ideas of Calvin. Until then Scottish Protestantism had followed almost exclusively the lines laid down by Luther. John Knox was the man who definitely transformed it into Calvinism.

As had been the case with Calvin, Knox also laid down, as the basis even of political organization, the terrible doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which one half of mankind is created for heaven, and the other half is *a priori* destined for eternal damnation. In his eyes, his own followers are the elect, the saints of the Lord, and the Catholics infidels and idolators, while he deduced from the Holy Scriptures, as being a precept of Almighty God, that if necessary, all idolators may be exterminated by the sword. Moreover, the elect of the Lord have both the right and the duty of enforcing, even by the use of arms, what they deem to be the will of God; in such a case it becomes lawful, even in opposition to a duly constituted authority, for the community, or for the individual acting in the name of the community, to have recourse to the sword or the dagger. Such doctrines were very welcome to the Scottish barons, as affording them justification for the acts of violence which they had long indulged in, though they had never attempted to excuse them on the strength of texts from Scripture. Their teacher was naturally attracted to Calvinism by his own hard and unbending character, as well as by the gloom and irritability of his nature.

Knox was, no doubt, a man of no ordinary talent, but he cannot be described as having either greatness or originality. He was hasty and uncouth, but he was endowed with a great nimbleness of speech and a natural gift of eloquence; his ideas, however, except for the grossness with which he clothed them, were merely those of Calvin. He had no appreciation whatever for anything like culture or of the glorious history of his people. His religious teaching showed him entirely untouched by the gentle spirit of Christ or the Gospel; he was the apostle of the sword and the flaming torch. But he was not the stuff of which martyrs are made; at the approach of danger, he knew how to save his own skin, though once he was in safety his courage was unbounded, and with the help of a certain geniality he knew how to rouse the populace and drive them whither he would.

The opportunity of taking an active part in the affairs of his country came for Knox when, in 1554, Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Stuart, succeeded the Earl of Arian as regent. Mary owed this appointment principally to the nobles in the pay of England; and she undertook it with the tacit understanding that she should secretly promote the new doctrines. Knox thereupon returned to Scotland

in the autumn of 1555, and began to preach energetically in the territories of the Protestant nobles. His thunders against idolatry were not without effect; wherever they could his followers at once put an end to Catholic worship, drove out the monks and priests, and burned the churches and ecclesiastical ornaments. In this he was as little interfered with by the queen-regent as by the bishops, none of whom showed themselves worthy of their high office. When in the end a summons was issued against him, for May 15th, 1556, he, it is true, appeared for the proceedings, but his judges did not. On the strength of this the bold reformer thought it safe to preach publicly in Edinburgh on the same day, and to invite the regent in an open letter herself to adopt the new teaching. His courage failed him, however, when threats of serious proceedings against him on the part of the Church were made, and he fled once more to Geneva. Knox was then burned in effigy in Edinburgh, but the impression of weakness given by this tardy condemnation of one who was already in safety, really only served to encourage the innovators. John Douglas, an apostate Carmelite, now preached openly in Edinburgh, and in March, 1557, the leaders of the party of the nobles did not hesitate to send an invitation to Knox to return to his native land. Knox, it is true, only ventured as far as Dieppe, but even though he did not appear in person, a letter which he sent to his friends in Scotland had a great effect. On December 3rd, 1557, the leaders of the nobles who had embraced the new religion met and gave their party a definite organization by signing their names to a covenant. They now styled themselves the "party of the Lord," and the Catholics the party of Satan; the signatories, with the Earls of Argyll, Morton and Glencairn at their head, bound themselves, in accordance with the ancient Scottish custom, to remain united until death, and promised to defend the new doctrines, "the holy word of God in His congregation" and openly to profess themselves the enemies of "the party of Satan, its abominations, and its idolatry."

Thus was the old Church formally apprised of the declaration of a war of destruction. The nobles of "the party of the Lord" drove the Catholic priests from their estates, and replaced them with preachers of the new doctrines. There was all the less reason at that moment to fear any strong measures being taken by the queen-regent, as she required the support of the Protestant nobles for the French marriage of her daughter. She even showed favour to the proposals put forward by the party to allow liberty for Protestant worship, which proposals were in their turn rejected, as far as their substance was concerned, by a last and belated council of reform held by the Catholic prelates in March and April, 1559.

It was only about Easter, 1559, that the regent changed her attitude towards the matter by forbidding the preachers to show themselves in public, and by making the administration of the sacraments dependent upon the consent of the bishop. In the meantime events followed quickly one upon another. The preachers refused to obey, and Mary summoned them to appear for trial at Stirling on May 10th; they did not come and were declared outlaws. Thereupon, by way of reprisal, they delivered day after day at Perth inflammatory speeches against the "idolatry" of the Catholics, and the duty of exterminating them. The resentment which they excited reached its climax when Knox, who had been again in Scotland since May 2nd, 1559, preached at Perth on May 11th against "idolatry." The mob smashed the images of the saints and all the ornaments in the parish church, and then went to the churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carthusians, and reduced them to ruins and ashes. Knox and the nobles



uttered no word of blame of these atrocities, which were immediately repeated at Cupar. The mob then marched by way of Crail and Anstruther, where also Knox's sermons had let loose the lust of iconoclasm, to St. Andrew's, the chief episcopal see in the country. After Knox had there inveighed during three days against "idolatry" the magnificent cathedral, the mother church of Scotland, with all its many monuments of prelates, nobles and famous men, was sacked and reduced to ruins ; nor did the other churches of the city fare any better. To the west of Perth lay the Abbey of Scone, a sanctuary indeed in the eyes of every noble-minded Scot, since from time immemorial the kings of Scotland had been crowned there; yet even this holy place was given to the flames. Of all the churches of Stirling the citizens saved only that of the Franciscans. After the destruction of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, Knox marched with his followers on Edinburgh. The regent took to flight, and before long the capital was given over to revolt and pillage; not even the royal chapel was spared. Similar scenes occurred in other places. One who took part in this work of destruction wrote: "This is our manner of proceeding : every kind of convent, and certain abbeys, which will not voluntarily accept the reform, are destroyed; as for the parish churches, they are purged of their images, etc., and orders are given that Mass is no longer to be said there."

In the meantime the government was quite powerless to deal with this state of affairs; after the first acts of destruction at Perth, Mary of Guise had threatened to take stern measures, but the only result was that the innovators entrenched themselves at Perth, and sent an insulting letter to the regent. Thereupon she prepared to act, but civil war was once again averted by means of a truce arranged by the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart. But on the pretext that the truce had not been observed by Mary, the two mediators very soon openly joined the party of the innovators.

In the meantime, with the death of Henry II of France in July, 1559, the two crowns of Scotland and France were united in the person of his son, Francis II, the husband of the Scottish queen. Francis II at once sent to his wife's mother 2,000 French auxiliary troops; 20,000 more were to follow under the command of the two brothers of the Scottish regent, the Marquis d'Elboeuf and the Duc d'Aumale. The insurgents were unable to withstand the well-trained French troops, so they sought for aid from Elizabeth of England.

As early as July, 1559, Mary of Guise had publicly accused the nobles of "the party of the Lord" of daily receiving communications from England, and of sending them thither. On August 3rd, 1559, John Knox had made to James Croft, the commandant of Berwick, the English frontier fortress, the traitorous proposal to hand over to the English several Scottish border fortresses, in return for which the "party of the Lord" was to receive help in English gold. A little later the Scottish intermediary, Belnaves, openly informed the Englishmen, Croft and Sadler, that the nobles intended to renounce their allegiance to Mary Stuart, and to place on the throne in her place the Duke of Chatelherault or his son the Earl of Arran; on their part, the nobles looked for financial aid from England

These requests for aid met with an encouraging reception from Cecil, but at first the English Privy Council made difficulties about any open co-operation with the rebels. Elizabeth contented herself with sending secret financial help, but

when, in October, the Lords of the Congregation openly deposed the regent and besieged her in Leith, but found themselves forced to raise the siege, and in January, 1560, were pursued by the French troops as they fell back on Stirling, the English queen ventured upon a further step. Her admiral, Winter, as though by chance, and, as he stated, upon his own responsibility, was able, with his fleet, to render important services to the insurgents, for which Elizabeth duly expressed her regret in a letter to the regent. In the meantime the nobles had sent to the English court an able diplomatist in the person of Lethington, Laird of Maitland, who, in conjunction with Throckmorton, till then English ambassador in France, succeeded, on February 27th, in persuading Elizabeth to enter into the treaty of Berwick, by which she promised her help to the Lords of the Congregation.

Thus it seemed as though the internal disputes in Scotland were on the point of developing into a great war involving three kingdoms, and one which might prove very dangerous to Elizabeth if 20,000 French troops really landed in Scotland. Fortune, however, favoured the English queen, for two fleets carrying french auxiliary troops were destroyed by storms off the coasts of Zeeland and Denmark. Throckmorton stirred up the French Huguenots to rebellion against their government, while the conspiracy of Amboise made it clear to the French politicians that it would not be safe to let themselves be involved in any undertaking on a large scale abroad. Mary of Guise thus had only her own French troops, well-equipped and trained, it is true, but only numbering at the most 3,000 men. Mary had to suffer also for the preference which she showed for her French supporters and soldiers over the Scots, for the discontent caused by this led even some of the Catholic nobles to accept the treaty of Berwick and join the English cause.

Under these circumstances Elizabeth had things in her own hand. The war was confined to skirmishes round Leith and the siege of that place, but although the English army won but few laurels at Leith, and Elizabeth was angry with Cecil as the author of a long and inglorious campaign, yet, after the death of the Scottish regent (June 10th, 1560), Francis II and Mary Stuart found themselves obliged to enter into negotiations for peace. Cecil went in person to Edinburgh as the English representative, and he hoodwinked the French envoys, Montluc and Randan, to such an extent that they agreed to terms, with regard to which he himself boasted that by them he had gained more ground in Scotland than all the English kings had by their wars. By one of the articles of the treaty, which was signed at Edinburgh on July 6th, 1560, Cecil and the incautious French caused Mary Stuart to renounce "for all future time" the use of English arms, which could be taken as meaning the renunciation of her claim to succeed to the English throne. The foreign troops were to be withdrawn, and Scotland thus was left open to the attacks of Elizabeth. The reins of government were placed in the hands of the allies of the English queen, the nobles who had embraced the new religion. In the absence of the queen the country was to be governed by a council of twelve, of whom Mary Stuart had indeed the power to nominate seven, but only from among twenty-five candidates chosen by the estates. The nobles of the "party of the Lord" and their adherents were not to be called to judgment for the excesses committed during the last few years. A Parliament was to meet on August 1st, 1560, the enactments of which were to have the same binding force as if it had been summoned by the express command of the regent herself. At the same time the treaty contained clauses in favour of Mary Stuart and the old religion. A

deputation was to ask for the approval of the king and queen before the opening of the Parliament, and by the terms of the treaty a commission appointed by the Parliament was to lay the state of religious affairs before the two sovereigns. Bishops and other ecclesiastics who had suffered losses in the recent troubles were to have the right to make a claim for indemnity.

In reality these apparent concessions to the sovereign and the prelates were of no practical value. Parliament assembled without the assent of the queen on August 1st, 1560, swept away the ancient Chinch, and established Calvinism as the state religion. On August 17th, a profession of faith, drafted by Knox and others, was solemnly accepted. On August 23rd there followed the prohibition of all Catholic worship; whoever celebrated or heard Mass was to be punished for the first offence by being flogged and deprived of his property, for the second offence by banishment, and for the third by death. August 24th saw the abrogation of the Papal authority in Scotland.

All these enactments lacked the force of law because Parliament had assembled without the royal assent. The astonishing majority upon which the reformers could count in the assembly had been secured by the admission, for the occasion, of 100 members of the lesser nobility, who, by the laws long in force in Scotland, had no right to sit in Parliament. Besides this, the assembly was not free. During the debates, the preachers openly urged the nobles from the pulpit to use force against the recalcitrant clergy. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was threatened with death by his own brother, the Duke of Chatelherault, when he ventured to oppose the acceptance of the reformed profession of faith. English influence dominated the assembly to such an extent that the leaders sought advice from London on all the more important matters.

The violence which characterized the whole conduct of this Parliament to some extent explains why we hear so little of any opposition to its revolutionary enactments. It would appear that the bishops looked upon it as certain that a new and legal assembly would soon be convened, and that they therefore disdained to pay any attention to this packed Parliament, from which in any case they could expect nothing but indignity. It was perhaps for this reason that they did not appear even when, in accordance with the treaty of Edinburgh, they were invited to claim compensation for their lost ecclesiastical property. Knox then tried to obtain possession of the benefices of the old Church for his own followers, but the nobles in Parliament wanted to keep these for themselves, and did not even condescend to reply to his request.

The preachers met with better success, however, in another direction. In the north and west of Scotland convents and churches had been preserved in considerable numbers. The ecclesiastical assembly of May, 1561, therefore put before the nobles of the Privy Council a request for the destruction of all these remains of "idolatry" and several of the latter were actually charged to carry out this task, namely, Lord James Stuart for the north, and the Earls of Arran, Argyll and Glencairn for the west; there was not a church left that was not mutilated or destroyed; the timbers, the plate and the bells were sold, and the books and manuscripts burned. Not even the monuments of the Scottish kings were spared, so that today we do not know of a single royal tomb on Scottish soil.

The complete breach with the past in Scotland was made without any attempt being made in Rome to interfere. On October 2nd, 1555, the thirteen-year-old queen had begged the Pope from France to allow her to levy a tax on the clergy for the needs of the kingdom. At the same time reports in cypher reached Rome as to the need for reform among the Scottish clergy, on the strength of which Cardinal Sermoneta in the following year demanded the appointment of a visitor for the northern kingdom. When, after the peace of Cave, Paul IV sent Cardinal Trivulzio to France, he also empowered him, on October 27th, 1557, to appoint such a visitor, but Trivulzio died at the end of June, 1559, without having taken any steps in the matter.

Soon afterwards Henry II of France made fresh remonstrances to the Pope, describing ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland in the darkest colours, and declaring that in spite of her exhaustion France intended to send a large army there to punish the destroyers of the churches; he declared that it was absolutely essential that a Papal legate should be sent there, especially in view of the approaching Parliament of August 1st, 1560. He recommended as a fit person for this office, the Bishop of Amiens, Nicholas Pellevé. In spite of the reproachful tone which Henry II used in this letter to the Pope, it would appear from the instructions which he sent about the same time to his envoys with the Scottish rebels, that the king's zeal for religion was not very deep-seated.

Paul IV at first received the royal letter courteously, and promised to take immediate steps. In the meantime, however, he began to entertain suspicions as to the orthodoxy of the proposed legate. He accordingly made answer to the ambassador that Scotland was no concern of Henry II's, while after the king's death he refused to send a legate on the ground that Francis II and Mary Stuart had not asked for one. Nevertheless, the royal couple, as well as Mary of Guise, had strongly pointed out to the Pope the necessity for reform in Scotland about the same time as Henry II.

His successor, Pius IV, did his best to repair the short-comings of Paul IV by giving full powers to Pellevé, who had been in Scotland as French ambassador since September. The learned theologians who accompanied him defended the old religion in sermons and disputations with considerable success. Mary of Guise proclaimed liberty of conscience for all, which of course included the Catholics, brought back to Edinburgh the monks who had been driven out, restored the broken altars, so that the Catholic worship was once again carried on with greater fervour than before. In other respects Pius IV maintained a cautious attitude, and gave his nuncio in France, Sebastiano Gualterio, express instructions not to do anything which would involve the Pope in expenditure in Scotland.

Francis II of France died on December 5th, 1560. He had never recognized the peace of Edinburgh, but his death put an end to any further preparations against the Scottish insurgents. In the meantime Mary Stuart was making ready to return peacefully to her own country. In February, 1561, she sent a message to this effect to Scotland, promised immunity for the past, and gave full powers for the assembly of a Parliament.

Hitherto the Scottish nobles had hardly given a thought to their queen. At the conclusion of the Parliament of 1560 they had sent to her a simple gentleman

to acquaint her with the decisions arrived at, while the more important members of their party went at the same time to Elizabeth to offer her the hand of the Earl of Arran in marriage, and with it the crown of Scotland, for it was their intention to make Arran king, and by means of his marriage with Elizabeth to unite England and Scotland as one great Protestant kingdom. Elizabeth, however, made difficulties about accepting the crown from the hands of traitors, while the thought of ruling over such unruly subjects may well have had small attractions for her; moreover, she would have found herself called upon to buy the support of the Scottish leaders with considerable sums of money, and Elizabeth was alarmed at the prospect of heavy expenditure. On December 11th, 1560, before she had yet had news of the death of Francis II, she refused Arran's hand. Irritated by her conduct, the nobles turned their backs on Elizabeth, and began to rally to Mary Stuart, from whom it was difficult to suppose there could come any threat to the supremacy of the new doctrines. Arian sent to France to ask for her favour and her hand, and Lethington himself offered Mary his support. This she accepted, under certain conditions, when upon Lethington, together with Lord James Stuart, went so far as to maintain the hereditary right of Mary to the English throne!

At this juncture embassies set out for France, in the name of the Catholics, as well as in that of the reformers, to invite the queen to return to her kingdom. The first to arrive was the envoy of the Catholics, Leslie, the future Bishop of Ross. He advised her to land at Aberdeen, in the north of Scotland, where everything was still Catholic; there she would be met by the Catholic nobles with 20,000 men, with whose help she would be able to crush the insurgents, and in any case she should also take French troops with her to Scotland. This suggestion, however, found no favour in Mary's eyes, while Leslie's advice that she should beware of her half-brother, James, who had designs upon the Scottish crown, made no impression upon her. When, on the following day, James presented himself as the envoy of the Protestant estates, she refused, indeed, to confirm the peace of Edinburgh, but in other respects received her half-brother in the most cordial way, and with simple confidence told him of all her ideas and plans, and sought his advice; it never occurred to her that her brother was in close relations with Elizabeth. On his return journey James had hardly reached Paris before he went in secret to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, and gave him a full account of all that his ingenuous sister had told him. Throckmorton lost no time in recommending this faithful friend of England to Elizabeth for a large reward in money.

At that time Mary found herself treated by Elizabeth in a very harsh and hostile spirit. Refused the passport which she had asked for, for her journey through England, and with a grave risk of being taken prisoner by English ships on her voyage, the Scottish queen set out from Calais on August 14th, 1561, and landed safely at Leith on the 19th, under cover of a dense fog. "Adieu mes beaux jours" are the words put into her mouth in the touching poem of her farewell to France, her second home. She could not yet guess the terrible way in which the future was to see this prediction fulfilled.

Mary was leaving behind her a happy and joyous youth. She was possessed of a beauty that had won admiration on all sides, and had a great charm of manner in society, while she was at the same time a daring horsewoman and follower of

the chase. She was also highly educated and a woman of great intellectual gifts, with a taste for poetry and music, while in the years that were to come she displayed courage and resoluteness in danger, together with a warlike disposition. A contemporary writes that it was her delight to listen to tales of valour and chivalry; that she admired these qualities even in her enemies, and willingly faced privations and risks if she thought they would lead her to victory. All the reports relating to the years she had spent in France are full of her praises, and in her later life no one ever left her without carrying away the impression of a woman of great brilliancy. Thanks to the careful education which she had received at the hands of her pious grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon, Mary's youth was untainted by the corruption of the French court, which never disclosed its secrets to the promised bride of its future king. She tenderly loved her husband, Francis II, who was so unlike herself, and her brief married life was happy. As far as her religion was concerned, she frankly told the English ambassador, Throckmorton, that she thought the Catholic religion was the most pleasing to God and that she neither knew nor wished to know any other.

This girl of nineteen years of age now assumed the reins of government in a country which was at the mercy of the strongest man among nobles who thought nothing of treachery and assassination, and amid a people which suffered itself to be roused to any act of violence by the tongues of demagogues, a girl, moreover, who knew nothing of the state of affairs in Scotland, who lacked the support of a powerful army, who had nobody to confide in, and not an adviser whom she could trust. In her very capital Knox thundered against her from the pulpit, while to the south Elizabeth was plotting her ruin, and what was worst of all, her political guides were her own half-brother, Lord James Stuart, and William Maitland, Earl of Lethington, a man of the highest gifts, but quite without principle, who gave his services to every party in turn, and betrayed them all. It would have been indeed a miracle if the inexperienced and gay young queen had made no blunders and incurred no blame.

The young queen was to experience in the first days of her residence in Scotland, the difficulties that were awaiting her. At her landing, indeed, she met with a cordial reception from the people, and was greeted with loud cries of joy, but it was not difficult to guess the significance of the fact that in the evening the populace gathered outside the castle walls, and for three nights sang Calvinist psalms to her. The Privy Council had allowed the queen to have daily Mass, but when, on the first Sunday after her arrival, they were preparing to celebrate it, Lord Lindsay presented himself at the chapel, at the head of a band of his followers, and threatened the "idolatrous" priest with death. These "men of God" were forced, however, "with anguish of heart" as Knox expressed it, to retire when Lord James Stuart took up his position at the door of the chapel in full armour, and prevented their entry. Similar scenes occurred many times during the first months. Knox preached that a single Mass was a worse disaster than the landing of 10,000 foreign troops, and every day he prayed that God would touch the hard heart of the queen, and strengthen the minds and the hand of His elect in their opposition to the rage of all tyrants. The question was openly raised whether it was lawful to obey so idolatrous a queen in civil matters. Nothing shows better the state of affairs than the fact that Mary was powerless to deal with such assertions.

In spite of all this, however, Mary had by no means yet reason to despair. In a progress which she made in September, 1561, it was clear that the greater part of the people was sincerely loyal to the queen. It was not unreasonable to hope that the wild tirades of Knox would gradually lose their influence. If only from the political standpoint Mary could not have acted more wisely in the face of such attacks than to continue to hunt and dance, and leave the disentanglement of the problem to the hand of time; little by little, good sense and reason, added to the innate loyalty of the people to the crown, were bound to restore calm. The charm which Mary's beauty exercised over the people, and even more her kindly behaviour, the mirror of a kind heart, helped to soothe and pacify her excited subjects. Many who approached her as her enemy, left her as a friend. If she had but had the calm sagacity of her mother, Mary might perhaps have succeeded in steering the ship safely through the angry waves. But the impulsiveness of her temperament caused her too often to be led away by the impressions of the moment, and thus she offered to her enemies a welcome opportunity to ruin her.

While she was still in France the queen had said that she did not intend to use any violence as far as religion was concerned, and she adhered to this intention. After her arrival in Scotland, on August 25th, 1561, she proclaimed that the religious question would be submitted to the Parliament, and that in the meantime everything must remain in statu quo.

As a matter of fact the innovators not only kept in their hands the property they had seized, but continued to add to it. In the Privy Council which Mary called together on September 6th, 1561, there were only two Catholics; she agreed that a stipend should be allotted to the Protestant preachers from the Catholic ecclesiastical revenues, whereby the status of the body of the new religionists was recognized as legal. Thus Knox was able to continue his invectives undisturbed. The queen sought to influence him by summoning him to her presence several times, and, though of course without effect, by remonstrating with him for his revolutionary activities. For her own part Mary remained staunch and unshaken in the Catholic faith, but in her desire that all might be led to see eye to eye with her, she took no active measures on behalf of her own co-religionists. Her own personal influence brought it about that at any rate there was no longer any attempt to put the capital penalty into force against the Catholics; while she had only with great difficulty been able during the first two years of her residence in Scotland to secure the release from prison of the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, who had celebrated Mass at Easter, during the last two years of her rule 9,000 and 12,000 persons respectively were able to receive their Easter communion in the royal chapel without creating any disturbances. A desertion of the condition of the Scottish Catholics is given in the report of the Jesuit Nicholas Floris of Gouda in Holland, who was sent by Pius IV as nuncio to Mary Stuart in 1562.

Immediately after the accession of Pius IV to the throne, Francis II. and Mary had caused homage to be paid to him, for which he expressed his thanks in the consistory of May 4th, 1560. On August 22nd, 1560, the Golden Rose was sent to the young queen; the nuncio Lorenzo Lenzi, Bishop of Fermo, who was sent to the French court after the premature death of Francis II, took to Mary a letter of condolence from the Pope; he, like the nuncio Gualterio at an earlier date, and Cardinal Este later on, had instructions to enter into negotiations with her. While

she was still in France, Mary received an invitation from the Pope to urge her representatives and the Scottish bishops to attend the Council of Trent.

Affairs only took a more serious turn after Mary had returned to her own kingdom. When, in September, 1561, it was rumoured that the King of Denmark was aspiring to Mary's hand, Commendone, at that time nuncio in Germany called the attention of the Pope to Mary, whose marriage to a Protestant would mean an increase in the strength of the reforming party, whereas the destinies of Scotland, Ireland and England itself might be guided in quite another direction were she to give her hand to a Catholic prince. As a matter of fact a great deal more depended upon the action of the young princess than Commendone guessed. She was the legitimate heir to the English crown; it was Mary Stuart, and not Elizabeth, who was to become the ancestress of the English royal house. If she had maintained her own throne and her hereditary rights, if she had founded a line of Catholic sovereigns, the religious future of the whole English kingdom might have developed on quite different lines; at any rate, the toleration of the Catholic Church in England and its colonies, and consequently the principle of religious toleration in general would certainly have been accepted as a fundamental political principle more than two centuries earlier than was actually the case.

From that time onwards Commendone kept Mary in mind, and it was certainly in consequence of his representations that Pius IV determined to send a nuncio to her in December, 1561. It was obviously impossible to entrust this mission to a nuncio of high rank, and therefore the Jesuit, Nicholas Floris, of Gouda in Holland, commonly called Goudano, was chosen for this difficult task. Goudano's departure, however, was delayed until June, 1562, probably because Commendone was anxious to give him as a companion Everard Mercurian, provincial of the Jesuits, and a man of great experience. A brief of June 3rd, 1562, named Mercurian as nuncio in the place of Goudano, but it arrived too late. Goudano had set sail for Scotland on June 10th, accompanied by a French Jesuit, and the Scottish priest, Edmund Hay; they reached Leith on June 18th. The object of their mission was to encourage the queen, and to invite her to send the Scottish bishops to the Council.

The arrival of a Papal envoy, the news of which, owing to an act of imprudence, was soon widely spread, caused the greatest excitement in Edinburgh. In almost all his sermons Knox inveighed against the diabolical emissary of Baal and Beelzebub; Goudano could not show himself in public, and therefore Hay took him for safety's sake beyond the Firth of Tay, to his father's house near Errol, in Perthshire.

A whole month passed before Goudano was able to present himself before the queen, and even then it was necessary carefully to choose the moment when he could make his way into the city and the royal palace. Knox was accustomed to preach on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and all the courtiers who professed the new faith attended these sermons. Accordingly, at the hour of the sermon on Friday, July 24th, when all the reformers had left the palace, Goudano was able to obtain an interview with the queen. He first of all set forth in Latin the objects of his mission, and when the queen explained that she could understand Latin better than she could speak it, the nuncio's companions were



introduced, and with the help of Hay the interview was carried on in the Scottish tongue. Mary replied to the Pope's letter that he should look rather to her good will than to what she had been able to do for the cause of the Church ; in order to save what was left of the Catholic faith in the country, she had been obliged to allow many things to be done which she certainly did not approve of. With regard to the sending of representatives to Trent, she would consult with her bishops, but she would not hold out any great hopes of success. As far as she herself was concerned she would rather die at once than lose her faith.

Since the time at their disposal was limited, Goudano accepted this reply to the letter, and passed on to the discussion of other matters. Above all he asked how he could best deliver to the bishops the Papal letters addressed to them. At first Mary made answer that this certainly could not be done by the nuncio himself, but she afterwards added that perhaps the briefs could be entrusted to Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, who was president of the Parliament. When Goudano asked for a safe conduct, Mary refused it, saying that as far as the authorities were concerned, no action would be taken against him, but that as for other attacks which might be made upon him, she had no power to afford him any protection. Lastly the Pope's representative recommended, as the best way of disillusioning those who had gone astray, that a college should be established, where learned and pious men could give instruction to the people, and especially the young. To this Mary replied that for the moment it was quite out of the question to think of anything of the kind. In the meanwhile the time had so slipped by, that the nuncio was obliged hurriedly to take his departure with his companions, though Mary again sent her secretary to him twice on the same day to obtain further information as to the wishes of the Pope, and to offer her assistance in seeing that the briefs which he had brought were delivered to the bishops. Goudano agreed to this on the condition that the queen informed the Pope of this in her letter of reply to his.

In this matter Mary had already asked the Bishop of Ross to deal with the nuncio, but the bishop's courage failed him ; if the nuncio, he thought, were to visit him, his house would most certainly be burnt down within 24 hours. To the proposal which he made in writing, that Sinclair should at least reply to the Pope by letter, Goudano received no direct reply, but he was informed by Sinclair, through a third party, that such a letter would be sure to fall into the hands of the reformers, and that therefore he did not dare to write it. The Bishop of Dunblane, William Chisholm, was also in Edinburgh at that time, and he had scarcely got back to his house before the nuncio was daring enough to visit him, accompanied by a relation of the bishop, and dressed as a servant. Even so, however, he was refused admission. After such experiences Goudano had recourse to the other bishops by letter alone. He received replies from the Archbishop of St Andrew's and Robert Creighton, the Bishop of Dunkeld; the latter also sent the nuncio a letter for the Pope, and even received him in a house of his which was situated on a remote island; Goudano, however, had to disguise himself as a money-lender, and to talk about nothing but financial matters during the meal. Later on, after he had left Scotland, Goudano also received an answer to his letter from the Bishop of Aberdeen, William Gordon.

The nuncio learned that there were still many Catholics among the nobility, but that from fear of the heretics they kept far from the court and took no part in affairs of state. He sent Papal briefs to three of these.

The nuncio describes the state of the kingdom in the most gloomy colours. The convents and churches, he laments, are destroyed, and Catholic worship in public is entirely suppressed, with the single exception of the royal chapel. Since baptism is only administered according to the Calvinist rite, and only on Sundays, many infants die without it. The preachers of the new religion are drawn partly from apostate monks, and partly from artisans who are completely uneducated. On one occasion during his stay, three priests abjured the ancient faith in a single day, not far from his lodging. During the same period, one of the most highly esteemed ministers, a monk and a doctor of theology, was openly married, notwithstanding his 70 years. Anybody who has a lawsuit is first asked if he is a Catholic; if he admits, it, his suit is either disregarded or postponed. The great men of the kingdom acknowledge the queen outwardly, but do not allow her to act as such. They put obstacles in her way on every occasion, and lead her into making many mistakes; especially if she tries to do anything on behalf of the Catholics, do they hold up before her eyes the bogey of an English invasion. The young princess has no one to defend her or advise her; even her confessor, Rene Benoist, whom she had brought with her from France, has deserted her. The nobles do not allow any one to have free access to her. That the bishops, who are for the most part still good Catholics, considering the state of affairs, have no power to do anything even if they wish, was shown when, last Easter, the Bishop of Dunkeld tried to administer the sacraments according to the Catholic rite, and to have his people taught by a Catholic priest; he was accused of breaking the laws, and by the command of the queen herself was forced to abandon the idea. The bishops, therefore, do nothing; the only exception is the co-adjutor of the Bishop of Dunblane, who confirms many in the faith by his sermons and private instructions. Apart from him there are very few Catholic preachers here, and even these either do not dare to treat of controversial matters, or are incapable of doing so. Of the nobles and the upper classes a few still hear Mass in private; there are still many Catholics among the common people, but they suffer under the persecution of the new religionists, and rest their hopes principally upon the loyalty of the queen to the faith of their fathers.

Even Goudano, however, was of opinion that all hope for the Catholics of Scotland was not yet lost. The whole country might be won back to the Church if the queen were to marry a powerful Catholic prince, who would be able to keep the enemies of the faith in check by his authority; it would then be necessary to provide the queen with Catholic advisers, and to consider the appointment of capable bishops and prelates. Philip II of Spain could be called upon to keep the designs of England upon Scotland in check.

His mission in Scotland over, Goudano, disguised as a sailor, set out in a boat from a lonely spot on the coast, and was conveyed to a Flemish ship, for a strict watch was being kept in all the ports of the kingdom for the nuncio and his correspondence. Hay followed him later with a band of young Catholics, who entered the Society of Jesus, and afterwards laboured as priests in their own country. With them also went Ninian Winzet, who had hitherto been the most able defender of the ancient Church in Scotland. This distinguished humanist had

forfeited his position as professor of Latin at Linlithgow. He afterwards took up the pen in defence of the Church, first in open letters, and later in a larger work in which he challenged the new prophet, Knox, to demonstrate his right to reform the Church of Christ by proving his divine mission. The reply to this was the confiscation of the press which had issued his “trumpet call against the usurped authority of Knox.” Winzet himself was forced to fly, and he died in 1592 as abbot of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon. The Abbot of Crossraguel, Quentin Kennedy (died 1564), had defended Catholic doctrine by his writings even before Winzet; religious conferences between the Catholics and the reformers had been held on several occasions, but without any noteworthy results. Winzet speaks with brutal candour of the abuses of the old Church, and especially the scandalous lives of the Scottish clergy, but in his opinion, as in that of Goudano, the true root” of the evil was to be found in the arrogance and rapacity of the nobles, who wished to provide for their sons from the benefices of the Church, and thus placed the highest ecclesiastical offices in the hands of men who were quite unworthy to hold them.

As the result of Goudano’s report, the queen was kept almost as a prisoner, by her entourage ; she was unable to receive any news from the outside world without the permission of her ministers, except by stealth. The real ruler of Scotland was her half-brother, Lord James Stuart. The heretics, wrote Edmund Hay, the companion of Goudano, with the exception of the Earl of Hamilton, are bound to him by their own interests, and he keeps the Catholics at bay by fear and by threats of appeal to the royal authority, so that no one dares oppose his will. He is always talking of the interests of the queen, but nobody in Scotland, who still retains a spark of intelligence, or who is not blinded by prejudice, can have the slightest doubts as to his real intentions. Leslie says plainly that James was aiming at the crown, and that in order to attain this end he always strove to keep the management of the affairs of state in his own hands, to fill all offices with his own supporters, to deprive the Catholic clergy as far as possible of all their property, and lastly, to undermine the power of his enemies among the nobles.

The hostility of Lord James was especially directed against the Earl of Huntly, the most powerful of the Catholic nobles, whose possessions in the north of Scotland formed almost a small kingdom. Huntly’s past had not been blameless, but he could at any rate be considered the most important representative of the Catholic party, and he was a loyal adherent of the queen. About the time that the queen was making a progress through the northern provinces, it happened that John Gordon, Huntly’s second son, in a street quarrel with Lord Ogilvie in Edinburgh, wounded his opponent, was thrown into prison, and escaped a few days later. The hot-blooded young man was extremely irritated by a public summons to repair to Aberdeen, and by the order to return to prison, and thus place himself in the power of his enemies. Twice he attempted to attack the author of these orders, Lord James, even though he was in the queen’s presence. A royal order to the Gordons then followed, that they were to surrender their castles of Inverness and Findlater, but this was resisted by the garrisons, who said that they must first have the consent of their own master.

Thereupon the queen summoned the nobles of the surrounding district to her aid, and called Huntly to account. The Earl would not risk placing himself in the hands of his enemies, but sent his secretary to hand over the keys of the

castles, excusing himself for not being able to come in person, on account of Lord James, though he declared that he was ready to be imprisoned in Edinburgh, or wherever the queen might appoint, on condition that he should not be condemned to death without the consent of the whole of the Scottish nobility. Huntly's messenger was seized by Lord James, and by threats of torture forced to give evidence against the Earl. Three times more did Huntly try to send the same message to the queen, but each time his attempt was frustrated by Lord James. In the meantime armed forces had been sent to take Huntly prisoner in his castle of Strathbogie. As he could not feel safe anywhere, in desperation he summoned 1200 men to his defence. These came to blows with Lord James near Corrichie; Huntly was defeated, captured, and fell dead from his horse. His son, John Gordon, was beheaded, and the whole clan of the Gordons was deprived of its possessions and titles by the Parliament of 1563. Thus did Mary suffer herself to be led to the fatal step of cutting off from herself the very party upon whom she ought most to have relied. Her most dangerous enemy, on the other hand, her half-brother lord James, returned from the north as Earl of Murray, with the rich possessions of the Earl of Huntly in his hands.

While the position of the Catholics continued to be pre-carious under Mary's rule, the reformers were enjoying the most complete liberty under her government. The preachers were allowed to pray openly in their pulpits that God would convert the queen, or give her a short life; Knox was suffered to inveigh undisturbed against the queen's dancing, and the attire of her court ladies, and this at the very moment when this delicate minded champion of morality, then a man of about 60 years of age, was paying his court to a girl of 16, whom he married in 1564. The Catholics, on the other hand had no share in this religious tolerance. The laws, which allowed a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues to the reformers, were arbitrarily administered by Murray, in such a way that more was taken from the Catholic clergy than was left to them. In order to practise their religion in accordance with the custom of their fathers, the Catholics had to take refuge in the forests and marshes, while Knox declared that even there they should be harassed by the fanatical reformers. The fact that the death penalty imposed by law for the celebration of Mass was not carried into effect was, indeed, due to the influence of the queen, but in other respects she was only able to mitigate the severity of the sentences imposed in individual cases.

In 1563 a number of distinguished ecclesiastics were imprisoned, among them Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had dared to attempt to keep Easter according to the usage of the ancient Church. In order to save the accused, Mary could think of no better plan than to send for Knox and ask for his intercession, although Knox was the very man who was pressing for the condemnation of all Catholic priests. On May 19th the Archbishop and 48 others were put on their trial for having heard confessions, and for having said or heard Mass, and were sentenced to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, though they were pardoned after nine weeks. After this the persecution of priests became more general, and on June 3rd, 1563, Randolph informed Cecil that the Catholic priests of Scotland were taking refuge in English territory.

Fortunately for her Catholic reputation, Mary had, a little before this, made profession of her faith before the whole Catholic world at Trent and that in a way that created a stir in the Council. The Bishop of Amiens, Pellevé, had already

reminded her on April 21st, 1562, that Christian princes were accustomed to send representatives to such an assembly in order to assert their rank and dignity, and that not even Elizabeth, in his opinion, would hold back on such an occasion. Soon after this the express Papal invitation reached her by the hands of Goudano. Mary replied to the Pope on January 31st, 1563, by expressing her own good will, and explaining the difficulties of the times, but assuring him that she would do her best to send a certain number of the Scottish bishops to the Council. At the same time she charged her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to make her excuses to the Pope if she had not carried out all her duties to the cause of religion. On May loth, 1563, a letter from the Queen of Scotland was read at Trent at a solemn general congregation, which was held with open doors. In tins letter Mary spoke of herself as “a most devoted daughter of the Catholic Church,” and acknowledged that as such she was bound to send some of her bishops to the Council, and that this would be for her subjects as well a great inducement to give to the Apostolic See the honour due to it. The times, however, did not permit of her sending even a representative, and she begged her uncle of Lorraine to give the distinguished assembly fuller information as to Scottish affairs. The Cardinal did this in the course of a long speech, and the fathers of the Council made a reply, which certainly contained the most splendid tribute which had ever been given to the Scottish queen by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities.

After the close of the Council Pius IV gave express orders that a printed copy of the decrees should be sent to the Queen of Scotland. This was entrusted to her envoy, Stephen Wilson. The brief which accompanied it exhorted the queen to do her utmost to carry out the decrees of the Council, and only to confer ecclesiastical dignities on Catholics who were above suspicion, and to do the same, as far as possible, in the case of civil offices. At the same time briefs were sent to the two archbishops of St. Andrew’s and Glasgow, together with exhortations to put the Tridentine decrees into force. Mary’s reply, in which she again expressed her good will, only reached the Pope after a long delay, and he replied on May 1st, 1565, in words of praise and encouragement.

The queen once more entered into correspondence with the Holy See when the lengthy negotiations on the subject of her marriage had been brought to an end.

Mary’s relations with foreign powers were, at the beginning of her reign, governed by three ideas ; she aimed at maintaining friendly relations with Elizabeth of England, at the recognition of her hereditary claim to the English crown, and at the consolidation of her position by marriage with some powerful Catholic prince.

In the first years of her reign she could hardly do enough in the way of reiterated protestations of friendship and admiration for her “good sister” of England. On one occasion she said that she wished to honour Elizabeth as an elder sister, and to follow her advice as she would her mother’s. She treated as precious treasures, which she carried near her heart, the letters of her “dear sister, and sweet cousin and friend.” The crafty Elizabeth willingly accepted such assurances, which afforded her an opportunity for exercising influence over Mary’s decisions, and for interference in Scottish affairs. The hereditary right of her rival to the English throne, which had been called in question by the peace of

Edinburgh, she never formally recognized, although she sometimes allowed her ambassador to make use of expressions calculated to encourage Mary's hopes.

It was above all in the matter of the matrimonial plans of her neighbour that Elizabeth was thus able to exercise a powerful influence. Naturally Mary did not lack for suitors. First of all she thought of marrying Don Carlos, the son of Philip II; the Archduke Charles of Austria was also considered for a time. From the first Pius IV looked favourably upon the Spanish match, but, in consequence of the representations of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he, at the end of October, 1563, instructed his nuncio in Spain to lay before the Catholic King the Cardinal's arguments in favour of Charles of Austria.<sup>1</sup> But Philip II had no wish to see the archduke, with his possible claims to Flanders, brought any nearer to the Low Countries, so in 1563 he gave up all thought of the Scottish match for his own son as well.

Elizabeth had threatened hostilities on her own account if Mary were to marry either the Infante or a member of the House of Austria, but promised that she would find in her a sister and a friend if she made a choice in accordance with her wishes. It was probably only with the purpose of still further postponing the dreaded marriage of her rival that Elizabeth, in March, 1564, suggested to Mary as a husband her own lover, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Mary, however, towards the end of the same year, was herself coming to a decision, which was to lead her to her own undoing; she was thinking of marrying her cousin, Henry Darnley, who was only 19 years of age.

Darnley, like Mary herself, was descended from a sister of Henry VIII, and after Mary Stuart was the nearest legitimate heir to the English throne. A marriage with him could not but strengthen her own claim. There was reason to hope, however, that he would be acceptable to the English queen in that the match would remove all fear of a foreign marriage, by means of which Scotland might gain an alliance on the continent, whereas Darnley was a subject of Elizabeth. His father, the Earl of Lennox, who belonged to one of the most distinguished Scottish families, had been obliged to leave his own country 20 years before, on account of his relationship with Henry VIII, and had since lived in England, where Darnley had been born. In consequence of representations made by Elizabeth, the Earl of Lennox obtained permission to return to Scotland at the end of 1564, to be followed in the next year by his son, who was presented to the queen on February 17th, 1565. The first impression which her young relative made upon her was very favourable, and unfortunately she allowed herself to be deeply influenced by this impression. In a short time she was entirely infatuated by the youth, who was quite incapable and unworthy, and when, in April, 1565, Darnley fell ill. she visited him very often and nursed him with a mother's care.' An eye-witness testifies that she had suddenly become a changed being; her brightness, her beauty, her cheerfulness were all overshadowed, and her dignity had disappeared. People talked seriously of witchcraft, and claimed that they had seen the magic rings and bracelets. In any case everyone felt sure that Darnley would be king

When Elizabeth realized that this time Mary was in earnest, she at once sent orders to Lennox and Darnley to return to England, and tried in every way to prevent the marriage; but all was in vain, for Mary remained fixed in her resolve. She declared that Elizabeth had no more right to interfere with her marriage than she had to meddle with Elizabeth's own matrimonial affairs. The marriage was accordingly celebrated according to the Catholic rite on July 29th 1565.

Mary was not unaware that, on account of her near relationship to Darnley, the marriage could not be validly contracted without a Papal dispensation. She had therefore attempted in the first place to get into communication with Rome through her uncle, Charles de Guise. But at first the Cardinal would have nothing to do with Darnley, and he delayed so long that his messenger only reached Rome on July 20th, 1565. A messenger sent by the queen herself, namely, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, whom she dispatched to the Eternal City at the end of June, only arrived there on August 14th. Between this date and September 25th, Pius IV granted the queen's request. Thus, at the time of the marriage, July 29th, the dispensation had not yet been granted, though in all probability Sinclair, who celebrated the marriage, as well as Mary herself, took it for granted that it had been issued by that time, or else they thought that, in view of the urgency of the case, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, as Papal legate, could give the necessary faculties.<sup>2</sup> Almost simultaneously with the wedding Darnley was proclaimed king, and all future acts were to be published in his name as well as that of Mary. This provision, however, was illegal, in that it had not received the assent of Parliament, but Mary's popularity was so great at that time that no one made any protest.

One reason why Mary thus at length entered into a new marriage is certainly to be found in her desire to escape from the tutelage of Murray, and manage her own affairs. Her choice of Darnley had also been determined by the fact that he came of a Catholic family, and was himself looked upon as a Catholic. As a matter of fact, if, in deference to Elizabeth's attitude, and in the interests of her own hereditary rights, she had to choose a husband who was a native of the British Isles, and one who was of the same religion as herself, her choice was very limited. In this the tragic blunder of her life, in having allowed the family of Huntly to be destroyed, was clearly shown.

It was only natural that Mary's marriage should have antagonized Murray, and stirred up against her the religious fanaticism of the reformers. A Catholic queen, especially one who was so unassuming as Mary, might still have been tolerated, but with her marriage to Darnley the probability of a Catholic dynasty became acute. As early as March, 1565, Murray had entered into an alliance with Chatelherault and Argyll, by which they agreed to stand together, though with the proviso that this should only be in matters which were not opposed to God and the queen. At the beginning of April, Murray left the court, where he had so long been all powerful; at the end of the month, however, by Mary's orders, he returned, but he refused to give his consent to the marriage with Darnley, basing his refusal upon the latter's religion. He would consent, he said, only on condition that he should himself be made the head of the government, and that the Catholic religion should be proscribed.

The general assembly of the reformers at the same time adopted a threatening attitude. A few days before the celebration of the marriage this assembly sent a deputation to the queen begging her to confirm its decision that the Mass must be suppressed “together with all manner of papistry, idolatry and Papal jurisdiction” all over the kingdom, including the royal court, and that throughout the country “the pure word of God and His true religion” be established. Mary made answer that she did not consider that there was anything impious in the Mass, and that she felt sure her subjects would not force her to act against her conscience. She could not and would not deny the religion in which she had been brought up, and which she looked upon as the true religion founded upon the word of God. She had made no attempt to do violence to the consciences of her subjects, and did not intend to do so, but would leave each one to serve God as he deemed best; she claimed the same right for herself.

This dignified reply was powerless to change the course of events. Even before it had been made known, the nobles of the new religion met at Stirling to decide what was to be done should Mary overthrow their religion or give Queen Elizabeth a pretext for invading Scotland. When she was at Perth on June 30th, the queen received news that, at her departure from the city, which had been arranged for the next day, she was to be seized and imprisoned, and Lennox and Darnley killed. She immediately summoned 300 armed men to her aid, and frustrated the attack by leaving Perth at a very early hour. The conspirators then had recourse to arms; Murray, Chatelherault and Argyll appealed for help to Elizabeth, whom they described as “blessed with the noble title of being, after God, the special protector of the champions of religion.” On July 10th they received an encouraging reply from Elizabeth. On July 12th, 1565, Mary answered the rumours being spread about by the re-formers that their religion was in danger, by a fresh promise of religious freedom. Three days later she renewed this promise, and at the same time sent orders to her friends to assemble under arms at Edinburgh.

This rebellion was not without real danger. Many powerful nobles took the part of the insurgents, such as the Earl of Argyll, who had almost unlimited power in the western Highlands of Scotland, and the Earl of Glencairn, one of the most powerful nobles in the south-west of the kingdom. Moreover, the leader of the conspiracy, the Earl of Murray, was a skilful general, and behind him was Elizabeth, in reliance upon whose help the insurgents had taken up arms. Elizabeth, however, was unwilling openly to declare war on Scotland, and her secret assistance was not enough. Mary, on the other hand, in the face of this danger, displayed a warlike courage, together with judgment and decision, which excited the admiration even of her enemies. She herself took her place at the head of her armies, and at her approach the insurgents, who had intended to march on Glasgow, retreated. They seized Edinburgh, indeed, but they met with so little support there, in spite of the inflammatory sermons of the preachers, that they abandoned the city, and Mary was able to return there unopposed on September 19th. At the beginning of October she again took the field against the rebels at the head of between 6,000 and 12,000 men, but their leaders had already sought refuge in English territory. On October 23rd Murray had a humiliating audience of Elizabeth; in the presence of the Privy Council and the two French ambassadors he appeared before the queen in a simple black dress, and had to listen on his knees to a lecture, in which the great actress taught him a lesson as to the duties



of a subject to his sovereign. She had already denied on oath to one of the French ambassadors that she had sent any financial help to the Scottish rebels.

To all outward appearance Mary's position at the end of the reign of Pius IV was stronger than ever. She had at one blow thrown off the tutelage which had hampered her for years, and had shown a bold front to her most dangerous enemies, the nobles who had adopted the new religion, and the preachers, and she had overcome them. It can easily be understood that the queen should have sought to profit by her victory. Among the rebels, the Duke of Chatelherault was pardoned on condition that he went to live in France for five years; the others were summoned to appear before Parliament in March, 1566, when their case was tried, and their property forfeited to the crown. Besides this the queen tried seriously to enforce her oft-repeated principle of religious toleration for all, in the sense that her own co-religionists were not to be excluded from this general liberty. As a consequence of this the Catholic nobles again began to assist openly at the worship of the ancient Church, and Catholic sermons were once more preached in the royal chapel of Holyrood. An act granting religious freedom to the Catholics was prepared for presentation to the next Parliament, to which the clergy were also summoned. The Dean of Restalrig, who had blessed Mary's marriage, was appointed president of the court, while John Leslie, the Bishop of Brechin, was made Bishop of Ross, and a member of the Privy Council; both of these were worthy and deserving men.

Since the nobles who had adopted the new religion had sought and obtained financial aid from Elizabeth, it was natural that Mary should also seek for like assistance. Bishop Chisholm, who had been sent to obtain in Rome the dispensation for the marriage with Darnley, had received the further instructions to approach the Pope on this point. "In Scotland," he told the Pope, "it is now a question of existence or extinction, both for the queen and for the Catholic religion. Even before her marriage with Darnley, the queen did all she could to reestablish the old religion, and this was the purpose she had in mind in entering upon the match. She cannot, however, do as she likes with her own property, because her treasurer and his secretary, who are both bitter heretics, will not allow her anything for purposes which they do not approve of. Mary's object is to crush the enemies of the faith, and those who disturb religious peace, to reestablish the Church, and to restore the former submissiveness and quiet; she is of opinion that she can attain this end very easily within four or five months, with the help of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, and she looks to the Pope for the necessary funds for the maintenance of these troops. This assistance would mean life and safety for the queen, peace and quiet for Scotland, restoration and new splendour for the Christian religion, and a renewal of respect and obedience for the Apostolic See. Without it, on account of the alliance of the Scottish heretics with Elizabeth, the queen can expect nothing but a martyrdom similar to that suffered by her mother."

Chisholm's speech certainly described the situation in over-strong terms. As far as she herself was concerned, Mary was sincerely devoted to the faith of her fathers, and she had in many ways alleviated the hard lot of her Catholic subjects, but it cannot be maintained that she was very zealous for the complete restoration of the former religious conditions. Pius IV., who had not at his disposal the considerable sum of money asked for,<sup>1</sup> answered her courteously on September

25th, 1565, and at the same time informed the Cardinal of Lorraine that the time was not yet come for the help demanded.

Bishop Chisholm did not go straight back to Scotland from Rome, but was detained in Paris during the winter. His mission gave occasion for a series of briefs of encouragement and praise to Archbishop Hamilton, and to the nobles who were Catholics, or passed as Catholics, such as the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassilis, Caithness, and Eroll and Mar, and Lords Hume, Seton, Semphill and Ruthven.

On hearing the good news of the first successes of the queen against the rebels, Pius IV to some extent abandoned his attitude of cautious reserve. In the consistory of October 12th, 1565, he said that he did not wish for war, but hated it, but that when it had been undertaken by others in defence of religion, it was the duty of the head of the Church to come to the assistance of Catholics with advice and in other ways, and that this was also the duty of other Catholic powers. The respective Cardinal Protectors should therefore remind the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain of this duty. By means of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Pope advised the queen not to place too much trust in some of her counsellors, who wished to make a compromise at the expense of the Catholic religion at the next Parliament.

Besides appealing to the Pope, Mary had turned for help to Philip II, and on September 2nd Pius IV also asked that monarch's advice with regard to Scottish affairs. Philip's reply, dated October 16th, showed that Mary's enemies had nothing to fear from him. A small sum of money which he sent to the queen was unfortunately lost.

Pius IV also tried to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland by sending a nuncio there, but, taught by his experience with England, he ordered him to go without any external pomp.

By the help of deceit and surprise, the English ecclesiastical laws concerning the abolition of Papal authority, the oath of supremacy, and attendance at Protestant worship, had been accepted by the Irish Parliament in 1560; the president of the Lower House, James Stanihurst, put the question to the vote at a time when the House was very thinly attended, and those present were altogether favourable to the change. The displeasure of the other members was calmed by the assurance that the new laws would not be put into force. As a matter of fact the traditional form of the oath of loyalty was maintained, and the Anglican liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer was unintelligible to the mass of the people because it was not translated into Irish. Nevertheless after 1560 the public use of Catholic worship gradually came to an end, although it was not found possible to prevent attendance at Mass, even in the neighbourhood of Dublin. With a few exceptions the Irish bishops remained true to the Church, and the government only dared to deprive two of their dioceses. In 1566 the viceroy of Ireland, the apostate Archbishop Curwin, and the other members of the Irish Privy Council reported to the English queen that the new doctrines had only made any noteworthy progress in the dioceses of Armagh, Meath, and Dublin, while they were entirely unknown in the rest of the country.

The great obstacle in the way of the sorely needed consolidation of the Catholic religion in Ireland lay in the condition of the clergy, and especially their religious ignorance. Cardinal Morone, the Protector of Ireland, therefore proposed to the Pope to send a nuncio to the island. It was of course no longer possible for a Papal envoy to appear with any external pomp; Pius IV therefore appointed for this purpose, not a prelate, but, as had been the case in Scotland, a Jesuit, David Wolf, a native of Ireland, who, by the order of the General of the Jesuits, was to make his appearance with the greatest simplicity, and was not to accept any payment for his work, not even by way of alms. Indeed, for some time after his arrival in Ireland, in January, 1561, Wolf carried out his instructions so literally that he suffered real want among the poor Irish.

The duty of the nuncio was to encourage the nobles and the bishops to be constant in the Catholic faith, and to devote himself to the reform of the clergy by suggesting to the Pope suitable bishops, by insisting that the bishops should promote capable priests, by looking after the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline and the erection of schools, and by watching over the preaching and the administration of the sacraments.

The news of the arrival of a Papal envoy in Ireland had hardly spread when men and women, barefooted and in the poorest dress, came to him in crowds to obtain the absolution of their sins, and especially that he might set right invalid marriages. Wolf himself relates that in the course of a few months he made use of his Papal faculties in more than 1,000 such cases. Many who had been more or less inclined to the new doctrines were reconciled by Wolf to the Church; it caused a great sensation when the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, William Cahessy, who was already a Catholic priest, returned publicly to the Church. In accordance with Wolf's suggestions, at the consistory of January 28th, 1562, three new bishops were appointed to the dioceses of Raphoe, Achonry and Elphin, who received their episcopal consecration in Rome. Of the three bishops who took part in the Council of Trent, two, MacCongail of Raphoe, and the Dominican, O'Harte of Achonry, were proposed for their office by Wolf.

A grave danger to religion in Ireland lay in the want of schools, where young clerics could receive a sufficient theological training; Wolf had been charged to obviate this danger by all the means in his power, and the Pope himself, on May 31st, 1564, issued a bull to the same effect. This bull states that there is in Ireland no university at which men can study and receive the doctor's degree; that the Irish are too poor to be able to go and study in other countries; that consequently there are at most six or eight bachelors of theology in the whole island, that one or two at most are doctors in theology, and probably none at all in law, that for a thousand years the Irish bishops have not given any assistance worthy of the name to theological study; that, in spite of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent concerning seminaries, and the conferring of ecclesiastical dignities on graduates, it appeared that there was little likelihood that, even in the future, the bishops would change their ways, or give up their custom of conferring ecclesiastical benefices on quite unworthy persons; nevertheless, in order that, in spite of this, a university and colleges might arise in Ireland, the bull granted to Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and to the nuncio, Wolf, the faculty to use for the purpose of places of instruction convents which had fallen into ruin or which had been alienated from their original purpose, as well as ecclesiastical

benefices. This, the bull stated, had already been decreed by the Parliament at Dublin under Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary.

Later on the schools became the principal object of the care of all the most important men of Catholic Ireland, many of whom devoted themselves personally to the work of instruction. The school of Peter White, formerly dean of the cathedral of Waterford, especially produced a number of distinguished scholars and priests.

Neither Archbishop Creagh nor the nuncio could, as a matter of fact, do anything at all to carry out the Papal letter. In 1564 the archbishop fell into the hands of the English; he succeeded several times in escaping, but he passed far the greater part of the rest of his life in English and Irish prisons, and died of poison in the Tower of London in 1585. The nuncio too was thrown into prison, and on May 13th, 1568, the successor of Pius IV tried to obtain the intervention of Philip II with Elizabeth on behalf of him and the archbishop. The distinguished bishops Walsh of Meath and O'Herlihy of Ross also endured a harsh imprisonment for many years. The same is also true of other bishops, of Edmund Tanner of Cork (died 1579), Peter Power of Ferns (died 1587), who for a time allowed himself to be led away by the blandishments of the government, and Archbishop Nicholas Scered of Tuam (died 1583), an alumnus of the Germanicum in Rome. After horrible cruelties the government executed the Bishop of Cashel, Dermot O'Hurley, in 1584; like him, the Bishop of Mayo, Patrick O'Hely, of the Franciscan order, suffered death by hanging in 1578. Besides him, a whole number of Irish Franciscans suffered a bloody death between 1565 and 1580. In order to introduce the new doctrines by force a state of war was declared in Ireland, and in little more than a year and a half about 400 persons were put to death in the province of Munster.

In the trials of the Irish bishops the forms of law were not infrequently entirely ignored. In a process against Archbishop Creagh at Dublin in 1567, the jury refused to find him guilty, although they were shut up for several days on bread and water, yet the archbishop was not set at liberty, while the court inflicted heavy penalties on the jurors.

While Creagh was a prisoner in London the government vainly tried to convict him of treason. He was said to have had relations with Shane, a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who claimed the title of O'Neill, and to be King of Ulster, and caused a great deal of trouble to the English government, until he was killed at the instigation of an English official. At that time revolts were breaking out almost continually in that part of Ireland. The government was always on its guard against surprise, but it was only with the greatest difficulty that it could carry into effect the legal penalty of forfeiture of lands against the insurgents. The attempt to introduce English settlers into the confiscated property, and to leave it to them to defend it against its former owners, was a complete failure.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ROMAN INQUISITION IN ITALY.

While the storm of religious changes was raging over the whole of western Europe, the south remained for the most part untouched by the disturbance. Protestantism indeed knocked at the gates of Italy, and even found entrance in more than one place, but it was vigorously ejected by the Roman Inquisition. The attitude adopted by Pius IV towards this body was in many respects different from that of his predecessor.

The destruction of the palace of the Inquisition at the death of Paul IV, and the wild scenes that accompanied it, suggested to the new Pope, even in the first weeks of his pontificate, the idea of introducing a reform of the tribunals of faith more in keeping with the needs of the times. Even during the coronation celebrations it was rumoured that he intended to abolish the powers of the Inquisition, and hand them over to the bishops. Pius IV, however, did not go as far as that, but in a congregation on January 10th, 1560, he once again restricted the power of the Holy Office to its former limits, in such a way that only matters directly concerning the faith came before it, but not simony, blasphemy and sodomy. Moreover, at the beginning of April, 1560, obviously in reference to the acts of Paul IV, he issued a statement in which he announced that all who lay under censure, exile or condemnation for heresy might submit their cause to a fresh juridical examination, in spite of the sentence pronounced by his predecessors. On the other hand, at the request of the officials of the Inquisition, the new Pope, on December 10th, 1560, confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by his predecessor on January 1st, in the first year of his pontificate. A monitorium issued by the Cardinal Inquisitors on January 7th, 1561, ordered the restoration of all the documents which had been stolen at the time of the destruction of the palace of the Inquisition. Cardinal Ghislieri remained Grand Inquisitor, since no other Cardinal was willing to undertake that office.

The sorely tried Cardinal Morone had no longer to remain in the prisons of the Inquisition. From the first, even before his formal acquittal, he enjoyed the special favour of the Pope, whose trusted confidant he became in all questions of importance. On March 6th, 1560, his innocence was formally recognized by a decree of the Inquisition, signed by the Pope, and the document was read at the consistory of March 14th; on the 18th the Cardinal was absolved at S. Maria in Trastevere from certain penalties which had been imposed upon him in view of the suspicions under which he had lain. In view of his eminent position, so the Pope wrote to the Emperor on March 18th, 1560, he had immediately after his election entrusted the case of Morone to Cardinals who were beyond suspicion and learned in the law, with the order that they were to examine the whole matter

with the fear of God before their eyes. Their verdict was that the whole trial had been invalid, and that there was no evidence of any kind against the Cardinal, but that all the more important depositions of the witnesses, and other items of evidence, had proved his innocence so completely that no trace of suspicion could now attach to him. On the strength of this verdict the Pope proceeded to absolve Morone in the consistory. The other princes, as well as the Emperor, received copies of the verdict.

At the consistory of May 29th, 1560, the Papal decision was read which declared that Sanfelice, Bishop of La Cava, who had been imprisoned at the same time as Morone, was also free from all suspicion of heresy. His companion in misfortune, Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, was also splendidly justified by a decree of the Grand Inquisitor on January 1st, 1560. The examination, this decree states, had resulted in showing his complete innocence, and that the accusations against him were made by wicked and deceitful men. On the other hand, at the same consistory which had seen the absolution of the Bishop of La Cava, Andrea Centani, Bishop of Limassol in Cyprus, was condemned as a heretic. Immediately after the Pope's election Carnesecchi came to Rome, in the endeavour to get the sentence pronounced against him under Paul IV annulled; he too was absolved at the beginning of June, 1560. The mildness of Pius IV was also shown by the complete abrogation of the strict regulations issued by his predecessor against the Jews.

How little, however, in spite of this, the Pope intended to abolish the Inquisition, is shown by the fact that in his first consistory he entrusted Cardinals Carpi, Ghislieri, Scotti, Puteo and Pacheco with the direction of inquisitorial matters. A Papal decree of October 14th, 1562, gave the tribunal of the faith fresh powers. The Cardinals of the Inquisition are named in the introduction to the brief: these were the three Cardinal Bishops, Carpi, Madruzzo and Truchsess, and the seven Cardinal Priests, Puteo, Scotti, Rebiba, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera and Savelli.

In the introduction to this decree it is stated that the Pope is working with all possible zeal to the suppress the damnable heresies, so that the purity of the Catholic faith and the true worship of God may flourish and that the apostates may either return to the bosom of the Church, or, if they remain obstinate, may, by their punishment, serve as an example to others. The Inquisition was set up by Paul III with great wisdom, and under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and it had been maintained by the Popes who had succeeded him; it has done such good service to the Church that it may be described as the strong shield of religion. Taking into consideration how useful, and even salutary and essential the tribunal of the faith is, it is the intention of Pius IV now to extend its powers, and he therefore now confirms the Cardinal Inquisitors in their office for all Christendom. The crimes of heresy, Protestantism and Anabaptism especially come under their authority, as well as apostasy from the faith, together with witchcraft, if it be heretical, and lastly the prevention of these crimes, even though they be committed by persons of the highest rank, though bishops, Cardinals, and persons of royal rank retain the privilege that only the conduct of the trial shall belong to the Inquisition, and that the passing of sentence shall pertain to the Pope alone. In all other cases even the passing of the sentence shall belong to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and when they cannot all be present, the judgment

of two of their number shall suffice. The Cardinals of the tribunal of the faith have further the power of appointing deputies to discharge their functions, of dismissing them, and of calling in the aid of the secular arm. Those who show themselves repentant must first, in public or in private, renounce their errors, and promise on oath that they will not relapse, or countenance any similar crimes; after a penance has been imposed upon them, they may be absolved from heresy and censures, set free from the penalties which they have incurred, reconciled to the Church, and restored to their former state and office. A special mitigation of penalties is provided for those who spontaneously submit themselves to the Inquisition, even in the case of those who have relapsed. The supreme Roman tribunal can appoint, depose, and punish the commissaries and inquisitors anywhere in Christendom, and it has in general the right to do all that may be necessary for the proper discharge of its functions. It may summon to its assistance even the prelates and doctors of theology or law.

The fact that this decree thus once again gave the Inquisition powers over even the Cardinals and bishops, was, from the point of view of medieval law an innovation, which, however, was justified by the changed conditions of the times. About a fortnight later this decree was made even more severe by a *motu proprio* of October 31st, 1562, which expressly referred to the sad experiences of recent times, when even some of those who ought to have stood out “as walls of Israel, had forgotten their duty and had listened to the wild statements of the enemy, and taken their part.” Therefore the judges of the faith are commanded once more to take proceedings against bishops, though of the highest rank, and Cardinals, as soon as they show any signs of heretical opinions, and since the prelates against whom this command was aimed lived out of Rome, in places out of reach of the Inquisition, it was ordered on April 7th in the following year that a summons to appear in Rome by the posting of an edict in certain fixed places in the city was sufficient notice even in the case of bishops of the highest rank. Those summoned were obliged to present themselves in person in Rome, under penalty of excommunication, suspension, and forfeiture of their benefices. If they did not appear, the Inquisition was empowered to proceed against them even in their absence.

Before two years had passed the Pope, by a *motu proprio* of August 2nd, 1564, formed a new congregation of Cardinals for the affairs of the Inquisition, on which only three of those who had been appointed on October 14th, 1562, were to be found. The number of Cardinal Inquisitors, it is here stated, is too large, and those who are appointed cannot all easily meet together. On account of the number of trials pending, as well as of those who repent, the discharge of all the duties of the Inquisition takes too much time, and is too protracted. Moreover, under Paul III and Julius III only five or at most six Cardinals were charged with the direction of the supreme tribunal of the faith, and it is essential, especially in the case of the Inquisition, that trials should be carried through with promptitude. Therefore, for the future only the following eight Cardinals were to be in charge of the Inquisition : Saraceni, Cicada, Reumano, Ghislieri, Dolera, Simonetta, Borromeo and Vitelli. With the exception of the cases of bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, dukes, kings, and cardinals, this commission could give the final sentence in all trials; it was to have the same rights as those previously granted to it by the Popes. The congregation was to meet at least once a week, at the palace of the senior member, or in that of some other Cardinal. All that it, or

the majority of its members, should decide was to have the same authority as if it had been done by the former congregation or by the Pope himself. The Governor of Rome and the officials of the State were bound under pain of excommunication to obey the inquisitors in all that pertained to their office; the civil princes were exhorted to show favour to the representatives of the tribunal of the faith, and to give them their assistance. When persons were accused before the Inquisition who were already in prison on account of some other crime, even if they had been imprisoned for some grave offence, they must first be brought before the Inquisition, and only after their case had been tried by that body were they to be taken back to prison and handed over to the other courts. The Papal secretaries were to give their services gratuitously to the Holy Office.

Later on Cardinal Alciati was added to the number of the eight Inquisitors General, and his appointment was confirmed by a brief, in which the earlier regulation concerning decrees made by a majority of the Inquisition was explained to mean that the decrees made by the Cardinals present at any session of the Inquisition were to have the force of law.

For the most part, the only things known of the activities of the Inquisition are those trials which ended in a public abjuration or condemnation. The Papal decree of October 14th. 1562, makes mention, however, of another held of activity on the part of the Holy Office, which was perhaps more extensive and important. This lay in the fact that when persons who knew that they were guilty of heresy repented and went to the tribunal of the faith, the Inquisitors General had faculties which were denied to ordinary confessors; they could secretly absolve the offenders and reconcile them to the Church without scandal, or the loss of their reputation and position.

From the facts which are so far at our disposal, or from other sources, it is difficult to arrive at any considerable knowledge of this side of the activities of the Inquisition, though it is hinted at in a decree of the tribunal of March 12th, 1565. This concerns certain members of the Franciscan order who found themselves in the circumstances mentioned, and they were allowed to present themselves before a tribunal of the Inquisition composed of the Procurator-General of their Order, Felice Peretti, the future Sixtus V, the other members also all being Franciscans. With the exception of those who had relapsed, all who belonged to the Order might make their abjuration in secret before this tribunal and suitable witnesses, and thus be reconciled to the Church. All the acts, however, relating to their case had to be sent to the Holy Office and submitted to the members of that tribunal.

The proceedings were to a great extent absolutely private, because the congregation wished to keep the way to secret abjuration open. Under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope and the Holy Office the strictest silence had to be observed to externs on all that concerned the Inquisition and it was only with the express permission of the supreme tribunal that the acts of trials held by the Inquisition could be referred to other courts.

This secrecy, however, was not to serve as a screen, and the procedure was therefore strictly regulated. During the reign of Pius IV, in addition to the Papal ordinances, a decree of the Inquisition of June 18th, 1564, is of special importance



in this respect. The spirit in which the inquisitors are to act is shown in the first regulation, which orders that first of all the assistance of the Holy Ghost is to be invoked. Under pain of excommunication the members are forbidden to write anything either in favour of or against the accused. The accused may be allowed to have a defender, who may only exercise that office after he has been asked for, and has sworn to make use of no unlawful means and to abandon the cause of his client should latter prove himself to be an obstinate heretic. He may give his assistance to repentant heretics; if he knows of any accomplices he must denounce them. The accused has the right to dictate his depositions, and if he does not wish to do this his depositions must be read to him after the inquiry, or at the latest on the following day. The cases before the tribunal are to be distributed in order among the seven Inquisitors General, each of whom may call upon the assistance of the consultors appointed by the Pope. The Grand Inquisitor has, in case of necessity, a certain discretion concerning orders of imprisonment, and in answering letters on arrival, but he must give a report to his colleagues as to what he has done, and is in general bound to conform in his replies by letter to their wishes. Release from the prisons of the Inquisition is to be made only with the consent of the whole congregation; in a case of necessity the votes of each of the Cardinals are to be taken at their own houses. The Cardinal in charge of a case may arrange for the attachment of accomplices and witnesses, but he must give an account of his conduct at the next meeting of the congregation. Those in prison are to be visited every month.

Other decrees fixed the fees for the officials and executioners of the Holy Office. A measure that told in favour of the accused was the order that all the inquisitors abroad must lead over the depositions of the witnesses in the presence of the accused before they pronounced sentence. Torture might be resorted to if plain answers were not given, or if replies were refused altogether.

Pius IV took little personal part, even in the drafting of the Papal decrees concerning the Inquisition. "His Holiness," the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, wrote in 1563, "has made no study of theology, and therefore cannot take part in the proceedings of the Inquisition with any personal authority: he is wont to say that he is content to leave all kinds of business to those to whom it is entrusted. And though it is well known that he does not much care for the great strictness with which the Inquisitors generally act, and that he has given it to be understood that he would be better pleased if, instead of behaving like strict monks they would rather act like courteous noblemen, he nevertheless does not dare to oppose himself to their judgment, or at any rate does not like to do so, and very rarely interferes, so that for the most part their decisions are approved by him."

The Council of Trent, as well as the Pope, did not altogether approve of the strictness of the Inquisition. In a letter to Rome, the legates of the Council openly expressed their opinion that the conditions of the time called for a procedure marked by gentleness and charity, so that those who had strayed might be brought to understand that what was desired was their return to a good life and to ecclesiastical unity, and that the Church, like a kind and loving mother, was holding out her arms to them. Similar sentiments were to be expected from the Council itself, as being a last attempt to restore the unity of Christendom. Just as after the death of Paul IV the Council had promised a mitigation of the Index, so

it was to be expected that it could and would show greater indulgence than the ordinary ecclesiastical tribunals in dealing with apostates from the Church. Accordingly, on May 11th, 1501, two Polish Dominicans, who had made their studies at Bologna and were about to return to their own country, told the legates that many heretics in Poland would have been reconciled to the Church if they had not feared the shame of a public abjuration. The legates thereupon agreed to their request, which Cardinal Ghislieri had refused, that certain trustworthy ecclesiastics in Poland should be given faculties to reconcile such persons to the Church with only a secret abjuration. The presidents of the Council had not the power to grant this faculty, but they had recourse to Rome to obtain it for themselves, and to give it to others. Pius IV granted their request, saving the rights of the Inquisition; not even the Council must interfere in the trials which would naturally come before that tribunal. When the legates objected that such a limitation made the concession almost useless, since almost all those who would have recourse to Trent had come into the hands of the Inquisition, the Pope amplified the faculties which he had granted in such a way that it only tied the hands of the legates in the case of the Roman Inquisition, but did not apply to accusations which had been made before other tribunals of faith. Anyone, therefore, who had been summoned before the Roman tribunal could only, as had been the case before, be absolved at Trent in virtue of a special Papal brief.

After the Council had issued an invitation to those who had separated themselves from the Church, and had given them a full safe-conduct, some of them actually appeared at Trent and were reconciled to the Church, as, for example, a Genoese merchant, Agostino Centurione, but for various reasons, there was an unwillingness in Rome to send other accused persons before the more gentle tribunal of the Council. The humanist, Ludovico Castelvetro, who, during his trial before the Inquisition in 1559, had fled from Rome and taken refuge in the Orisons, vainly sought to have his cause heard at Trent; the legates of the Council were informed that he must appear in Rome, at least for a secret abjuration. A similar request in the case of the apostate monk, Pietro Scotti, was even more definitely refused. The ex-Dominican, Jacopo Paleologo (Mascellara) of Chios, who had relapsed three times into heresy, several times escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition, and at the beginning of 1562 had asked to have his case tried by the nuncio to France, Cardinal Este, was sent back from Rome to Trent, where his haughty behaviour caused so much scandal that in September, 1562, Bishops Foscarari and Pavesi, refused to have anything more to do with him.

The attitude of the Pope as well as that of the Council of Trent towards the Holy Office is illustrated by the celebrated trial of Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, before the Inquisition. When Soranzo speaks of the reserve of Pius IV in all matters that concerned the Inquisition, he is evidently alluding in a special way to his experiences as ambassador in Rome in connection with this trial.

During 1549 a Lenten preacher at Udine had expressed himself in a way that occasioned wonder and scandal among the faithful upon a question that was just then being eagerly discussed everywhere, namely, the divine predestination to eternal life. The vicar-general referred the matter to the patriarch, who replied in a letter of April 17th, in which he defended the preacher, and sought to reconcile the doctrine with the freedom of the human will. The matter would in all

probability have been forgotten if the Signoria had not in the following year suggested the patriarch for the Cardinal's hat, as being a prelate who was worthy of that dignity. In order to have "for safety's sake" two representatives for the patriarchate of Venice, the senate at the same time desired Grimani to resign, by way of the regressus, in favour of some-body else, which the patriarch did on December 17th, 1550.

In the meantime disturbing rumours as to Grimani's orthodoxy had reached Rome. His physician, Susio della Mirandola, had been brought before the Roman Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, but had been declared to be innocent. Grimani went of his own accord to Rome, and submitted himself to an inquiry before the Inquisition, and to the so-called canonical "purgatio." It was seen that he was innocent, but at the same time it did not seem possible to admit to the Sacred College a man who had been before the supreme tribunal of faith on the suspicion of heresy. All the waters of the Tiber, Julius III had said, were not enough to wash out such a stain, since the fact of the accusation can never be removed.

Pius IV alone seemed inclined to pay attention to the insistence of the Signoria. During the first months following his election he had promised that he intended to take the wishes of the Signoria into consideration in the creation of Cardinals, and in October, 1560, there had followed a formal promise to nominate Grimani at the next creation.

Grimani thus had the best reasons for hoping to be admitted to the senate of the Church at the coming creation of Cardinals on February 26th, 1561, when once more he imprudently put forward his views as to predestination and the foreknowledge of God. Grimani's letter of April 17th, 1549, had been sent to the Inquisition, and Cardinal Ghislieri had pointed out in it a number of propositions as being scandalous, heretical, or suspect; the letter, moreover, had been widely circulated,<sup>4</sup> and was calculated to help the spread of Protestant ideas. Under these circumstances it was impossible for the moment to think of the promotion of the patriarch to the cardinalate. The fact that the Venetian ambassador Mula defended his protege in audiences on February 21st and 22nd was of no avail, nor that a special congregation of theologians, presided over in person by the Pope, to consider the case of the future Cardinal Seripando, pronounced favourably upon the letter of Grimani, nor that in that same congregation the patriarch threw himself in tears at the Pope's feet, nor that Mula on the morning of February 26th, immediately before the creation, proposed to the Pope, as a way out of the difficulty, that he should nominate him in petto: the sentence of the theologians, upon whom everything depended, in spite of all the demands of courtesy, ordered the patriarch to present himself before the Inquisition and submit himself to an interrogatory as to his beliefs, and though, at the end of the consistory of February 26th, Pius IV allowed the Cardinals to state that they intended to vote for the elevation of Grimani, even this was attached to conditions which Grimani would not accept.

Almost five months of negotiations followed. Mula himself had received the purple on February 26th, and Girolamo Soranzo had succeeded him as the representative of the republic, a special agent for the nomination of Grimani, Formenti, having also been appointed. With the help of these two men Grimani persisted in his efforts to be allowed to justify himself in writing, but the Cardinals

of the Inquisition on their part persisted in their claim that an oral interrogatory of the patriarch must be held, so that at any rate they might be able to ask for an explanation of the not very clear statements in his written reply.

At length, on August 19th, 1561, the Pope held a sitting of the Inquisition to consider the case of Grimani, after which he caused the patriarch to be brought in, and told him that out of special consideration for the Signoria, he would be satisfied with a reply in writing, which Grimani was told to draw up at once in the presence of four theologians. The patriarch sought to excuse himself on the ground of the difficulty of the case and his lack of books. But his case was not one that was concerned with abstruse theological speculations, but only with a dogma of the Church, with which, as a bishop, he ought to be well acquainted, and which could be expressed in a few simple propositions. The Pope therefore insisted on his demand. The patriarch was given a list of the propositions which had given scandal, drawn from his letter of 1549, and was told that he must show that they were in agreement with the teaching of the Catholic religion. On September 1st a commission of theologians gave its opinion on the case, which was read to the Pope and the Cardinals of the Inquisition on the 16th.<sup>2</sup> The verdict of the theologians was unfavourable, and the Pope decided that Grimani must be interrogated on the point of faith, and a process opened against him by the Inquisition as in other cases. The Signoria in consequence desisted for the moment from any further pressure in favour of the patriarch, who left Rome without taking his leave of the Pope,

In spite of all this Grimani did not rest, and in March, 1562, it was learned in Rome, from the Venetian ambassador, that he was thinking of submitting his case to the Council of Trent.

Although the Pope had given the Council full faculties for the absolution of heretics by his brief of August 8th, 1561, this concession did not apply to the case of Grimani, since his trial was pending before the Roman Inquisition, and the Council had no authority to deal with such cases. Therefore, in spite of further intervention on the part of the Signoria, the Pope would not allow this fresh move on the part of Grimani. Grimani's claim, so he informed the nuncio in Venice and the legates of the Council, was baseless, and was not in keeping with the dignity of the Roman See or with the canons ; if he were to persist in it, it would be fatal to him. He therefore sent to the nuncio in Venice a summons for Grimani to appear before the Roman Inquisition, which was to be delivered to him before he set out for Trent. Fresh remonstrances on the part of the Signoria only wrung from the Pope the concession that Grimani should go to Rome to be judged by the whole College of Cardinals, or by a full meeting of the Inquisition. Pius IV adhered to his resolution even when the legates of the Council recommended that Grimani's writings should be examined at Trent and his cause decided in Rome on the basis of that examination.

The matter went no further for several months, until the question was once again brought forward by a petition from Friuli to the Signoria. The present state of doubt as to the orthodoxy of the bishop, so this petition states, is a source of grave injury to the whole diocese; the Signoria should therefore take steps at the Council for the settlement of this question, which had now been so long pending. At length Pius IV gave way before the insistence of the Venetian representatives;

when Morone and Navagero started for Trent to replace the dead legates Gonzaga and Seripando, the Pope gave them the writings of Grimani for examination at Trent.<sup>1</sup> The patriarch accordingly went to Trent on June 18th, 1563, and, accompanied by twenty prelates, presented himself before the presidents of the Council.

Contrary to all expectations, however, the settlement of this long disputed question met with difficulties from the legates of the Council, who, on June 22nd, declared to the Venetian orators that in order to be able to pronounce sentence in Grimani's case they must have faculties given them by a special Papal brief. As soon as he heard of this reply on the part of the legates Pius IV sent them instructions by a special courier to meet the wishes of the Signoria in the matter of Grimani in every way. In accordance with these instructions great freedom was given to the orators of the Signoria as well as to the patriarch himself, to use their influence in the selection of the prelates who were to act as judges, and the Pope declared himself satisfied with the list that was submitted to him. The final sitting of this judicial body was held on August 13th, and on September 17th the sentence was pronounced.

Grimani had been wise in his generation when he thought that he would meet with greater kindness from the assembly at Trent. Even his judges at Trent, however, declared that all was not as it should be in the two statements of the patriarch, and in their final decision they stated that the two documents should not be published because several matters contained in them were not very clearly treated and explained. Otherwise it was decided that his explanations were capable of a sound interpretation. It was therefore declared that Grimani's letter and apologia were neither heretical nor suspect of heresy, nor would they give scandal so long as they were understood in the right sense.

In Rome, in spite of the fact that Cardinal Borromeo sent the patriarch his congratulations, there was but little satisfaction at the result of the inquiry. In spite of the repeated demands of the Signoria, Grimani did not even now receive the red hat. Nor was he recognized as the legitimate patriarch because he had not received the pallium from Rome, and was still thinking of having his case brought anew before the Roman Inquisition. On hearing of the death of Pius IV, Grimani set out at once for Rome, in order to press his claims before the conclave to be treated as a Cardinal, to which dignity he claimed to have been appointed, but he returned home as soon as he heard that Ghislieri had been elected.

Like the Roman Holy Office, the Spanish Inquisition also frequently found itself in touch with and in opposition to the General Council at Trent.

When the Council had it in mind to invite the Protestants to Trent, it had thought of extending the safe-conduct in such a way as to include in its invitation all those who had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> It very soon occurred, however, to the legates that the Spaniards and the Roman Inquisition would not be at all satisfied with this arrangement, and indeed in Rome they pointed out that on the strength of the proposed safe-conduct even those who were imprisoned by the Inquisition might claim the right of appealing to Trent, while the Spanish envoy at the Council made urgent request that this should not apply to the Spanish Inquisition, because it would be the ruin of Spain. The safe-

conduct, when it was at last issued on March 4th, 1562, did not, as a matter of fact, contain any mention of those who were accused before the Holy Office. In order to safeguard the dignity of the Council against the claims of the Spanish Inquisition, they hit upon the expedient, after long negotiations with Rome, of making each nation at Trent name two prelates who were to examine into and decide whether the cases of their countrymen accused before the Inquisition should be referred to Trent.

The sensitiveness with which the Spanish Inquisition sought to protect its rights may be seen especially in the discussions, already begun in the time of Paul IV, which took place as to the orthodoxy of the Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolome Carranza.

Thinking that the process against the archbishop would be ended in a few months, Pius IV had, at the beginning of his pontificate, granted faculties to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Valdes, to conduct it, and had removed the possibility of difficulties, if the powers granted had to be transferred to subordinate judges, by entrusting the nomination of the judges to the king himself. The passing of the final sentence, however, was reserved to the Pope. The discussion of the case against the imprisoned archbishop was then resumed. For the moment the Pope could do nothing to hasten matters because the reserve of the Spanish Inquisition had not even allowed it to inform them in Rome of the points of accusation which had been made; it was therefore only possible to give the nuncio Crivelli, who was sent to Spain at the end of 1561, general instructions upon the subject; he was told that he must be careful not to offend the king, that he must be satisfied if he could protect the archbishop from unjust treatment, that he was to try and induce the Inquisition to report to Rome, and that he must safeguard the right of the Pope to pronounce the final sentence. It would seem that until then they had cherished the hope in Spain that they would be able to bring the whole affair to a conclusion by means of the Spanish Inquisition alone. From the beginning of his nunciature Crivelli tried to have the acts of the trial reported to Rome, but he had to be content with fair promises.

Paolo Odescalchi, who was sent to Spain as envoy extraordinary in June, 1562, fared no better.<sup>1</sup> The king told him that it was a very important matter, and that he must therefore proceed very carefully; as soon as the examination of the witnesses was completed, which would be the case very shortly, copies of the evidence would be sent to Rome. [ Odescalchi, however, received the impression that the Inquisition was exceeding its powers. Carranza's defender, the celebrated moralist Azpilqueta, was arrested in his own house by that tribunal because he had publicly stated the innocence of his client. At the court many people looked upon the whole affair as a mere piece of persecution, and said that the trial would go on for a long time because as long as it lasted the revenues of the archbishopric would go into the royal treasury; out of these revenues Carranza did not even receive the 10,000 ducats reserved to him while in prison by the order of the Pope, in order that, as Odescalchi was informed, the archbishop should not be able to bribe the Curia !

In the meantime, however, the friends of Carranza were not remaining inactive. At the beginning of October, 1562, they were in possession of a Papal brief in his favour, and they had recourse to Odescalchi so that he might deliver

this to the principal judge, Zuñiga, Archbishop of Santiago. Odescalchi went, accompanied by a notary, to Zuniga, but the latter refused to accept the brief, saying that it must first be presented to the king. If Odescalchi had agreed to do this, one of two things must have happened: either the royal council would have discussed the brief at endless length, or the king would have forbidden its delivery, since, as Odescalchi wrote to Rome in August, all Madrid was trying to ruin the poor archbishop, whose revenues had been his undoing. Odescalchi tried to induce Zuniga by arguments, to accept the brief, but in vain; he was told that he must make up his mind to present the Papal letter to the king. The result of his attempts is shown in an autograph letter from Philip to Pius IV, of October 16th, 1562, which is highly significant of the Spanish caesaropapism. The king, this letter says, has heard from Odescalchi that the Pope has sent a certain letter concerning the affair of the Archbishop of Toledo. His Holiness is aware of the care taken by the king that justice shall be carried out with all possible speed and equity in the execution of the Pope's instructions; he can therefore only feel surprise that the Pope, on the strength of unauthorized reports, should have given instructions on the subject without waiting for information from the king, since Philip is always careful to inform His Holiness of everything that he should know. For this and other reasons he has advised Odescalchi not to pay any attention to the brief; the king begs the Pope not to take this amiss, and to issue no orders until the reports of the trial are sent to him.

Cardinal Borromeo sent Philip's letter to Trent, so that the Council might see how far things had gone, and to prove to it that the Pope could not do any more for the archbishop unless he were willing to bring about a rupture with the Spanish king.

After vainly making application to Philip II, Carranza had actually turned to Trent for help. There, in October, 1562, a monk made his appearance as his representative, and presented to the fathers a memorial in which the imprisoned archbishop begged the fathers of the Council to intervene on his behalf with the Pope. Borromeo, however, on receipt of Carranza's memorial, was only able to reply to the legates that, in spite of all efforts to hasten the trial, they had not yet even been able to obtain the copies of the depositions of the witnesses which they had so often asked for. The Pope did not know what to do; the fathers of the Council must decide for themselves whether it was wise to come to a rupture with the Spanish king, and to prefer the interests of an individual to the general well-being of the Church. Seripando seemed to be right when he said that it was impossible to come to the assistance of Carranza either at Trent or in Rome.

After the middle of 1563, however, the affair was brought a little nearer to a decision. Guzman, a doctor of law, arrived in Rome from Spain in order to make a report of the progress of the trial, Carranza's friends indeed declared that Guzman's account must be treated with suspicion, as not being impartial, but Pius IV thought that at any rate it was clear that the imprisonment of the archbishop could not be said to be unjust, though in other respects he adhered firmly to his determination to reserve the final sentence to himself, while, in order to secure the production of the evidence, the powers of the Inquisition were extended until May 1st, 1564. The nuncio Crivelli was instructed to pacify Carranza's friends, by assuring them that no injustice to the archbishop would be allowed.

About this time Carranza's friends tried to advance a step further by seeking to obtain from the commission of the Index at Trent an opinion upon the archbishop's catechism, which was the starting point of the accusation. Many of the members of the commission did not understand Spanish, while others who did had the name of being his partisans, as being Dominicans like Carranza himself. Therefore, the Archbishop of Prague, Brus, who to some extent presided over the examination of suspected books, caused the catechism to be examined independently of the commission by four of the most celebrated and learned doctors of Spain and Portugal, and at the same time asked for a written opinion from four Spanish members of the Council, namely Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, and Bishops Blanco of Orense, Corrionero of Almeria, and Cuesta of Leon. The opinions of all of them were favourable to the catechism, and accordingly the representatives of Carranza asked Brus to give them a written statement to that effect, and six or seven copies were given to them, all signed by the eleven members of the commission then present, and this was immediately sent by Carranza's friends to Spain.

No sooner had the Count di Luna heard of this than he immediately insisted on the withdrawal of this testimony, as being an insult both to the Spanish Inquisition and to the Pope, by whose instructions the tribunal was holding its inquiry.

With this the commission of the Index found itself in a position of great embarrassment. Some of the members were unwilling to withdraw their signature now that it had been given, while others maintained that in a matter of such great importance the commission could only act collectively, that the signatures had not been attached for publication, and that the fact that not a single name of a Spaniard was among them must excite suspicion. Others changed their opinion, either for or against Carranza, so that out of the 18 members of the commission half were in favour of and half were opposed to the judgment which had been issued. Excited explanations followed, by which Brus was seriously offended.<sup>1</sup> The outcome of the affair was that the part taken by the Council on Carranza's behalf brought him no advantage.

On August 12th, 1564, the frequently extended powers which had been given to the Spanish Inquisition to conduct the trial of Carranza were once again extended for the last time, but by January 1st, 1565, they had finally lapsed, and it became necessary to enter into fresh negotiations with Rome. About the middle of January, 1565, an envoy from Philip II., Rodrigo de Castro, arrived in Rome, who sought in every way to induce the Pope to hand over to the Spanish Inquisition the pronouncement of the final sentence on the unfortunate archbishop. Such a concession, however, would not only have been contrary to the established law, but also against the Council of Trent, and Pius IV accordingly remained obdurate in the matter ; the utmost that he could do for the king, if Philip insisted upon it, would be to send an apostolic legate, who, in conjunction with other Roman and Spanish prelates to be appointed by the Pope, would examine the acts of the trial on Spanish soil and pronounce sentence.

In June, 1565, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, the future Pope Gregory XIII, was appointed legate for Spain, and in the consistory of July 13th was formally constituted judge of Carranza's cause. His assessors were to be Castagna,



Archbishop of Rossano, who was at the same time appointed nuncio in Spain, and the future Cardinal, Giovanni Aldobrandini. The Papal judges arrived in Spain in November, 1565, and were received with great pomp, but the question whether any members of the Spanish Inquisition were to be attached to them as assessors was still pending when Pius IV died in December, 1565, leaving the trial of Carranza as an unpleasant inheritance to his successor. The Pope was and remained but little edified by his experiences of Spanish caesaro-papalism. Alluding to the magnificence with which the Papal judges had been received in 1565, while at the same time the Spaniards were only willing to allow the provincial councils demanded by the Council of Trent on condition that a state official were present, Altemps wrote to Boncompagni on November 17th, 1565, his opinion that the prevailing idea in Spain was that so long as they showed themselves loyal and devout in such external ceremonies, they could be as obstinate and rebellious in other matters as they pleased. An instruction sent to the nuncio Castagna in August, 1565, is full of complaints at the intrusion of the Spanish officials into ecclesiastical matters, and a letter of protest of the same time relates how the president, Figueroa, in defending such acts on the part of the council of state had several times openly said that there was no Pope in Spain.

Just at the time when the treatment of Carranza had caused such discontent with the Spanish Inquisition in Italy, news was received at the beginning of August, 1563, in Trent, and in the middle of the same month at Milan, that Philip II intended, alongside of, or rather in the place of, the mild and purely ecclesiastical Inquisition then in existence, to introduce into his possessions in northern Italy a Holy Office like that in Spain, and that the Pope had not thought it wise to offer any resistance to the Spanish king's wishes. As a matter of fact the Archbishop of Messina, Cervantes, had been appointed Inquisitor General for Milan, and on August 7th, 1563, instructions were sent to the legates of the Council to give him leave to depart as soon as he asked for it.

This news caused the greatest excitement in Milan. At the meeting of the civic council which was immediately summoned, and again in its reply to Rome, as well as in later memorials to the Pope, it was openly stated that the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition would mean the ruin of the Duchy, and that if the project were carried into effect the citizens would leave their homes with all possible speed, and emigrate to foreign lands. Recourse was had at once to the governor of Milan, the Duke of Sessa, who tried to pacify them and gave them leave to send envoys to Madrid and Rome. It was also resolved to send a distinguished Milanese citizen at the public expense to Trent in order to obtain from the two Milanese Cardinals, Morone and Simonetta, letters of recommendation to Cardinal Borromeo and the Pope. In Rome the envoys of the city were instructed in the first place to go to the Spanish ambassadors, Vargas and de Avila, and to point out to them that with the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, commerce and trade would leave Milan, to the great loss of the king. The envoys were next to win over Cardinals Borromeo and Ghislieri to their side. The city of Cremona also sent an envoy to ask the intercession of Morone with the Pope.

The news of the Pope's acquiescence in the wishes of the Spanish king also caused great dismay at Trent. If the Inquisition is allowed for Milan, wrote Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, and confidential agent of the Curia, it will be

impossible to refuse it for Naples. The other Italian princes would then ask for it, and since the Inquisition in Spain has authority over the bishops, the same concession would have to be made throughout Italy, to the great disadvantage of the Roman See. Out of fear of the Inquisition the bishops would seek above all to be on good terms with the princes, and in the event of another Council being assembled, the Pope would no longer have any bishops upon whom he could rely. Nor is any consolation to be found in the fact that even the Inquisition of the Spanish type is dependent upon Rome, since the trial of the Archbishop of Toledo shows how lightly the Spanish Holy Office regards its duty of obedience.<sup>1</sup> The legates expressed themselves in similar terms. It is difficult to realize, they wrote, how much the bishops have been affected by the fear that in a short time the Holy Office will be carried from Milan to Naples. Already some of the fathers are saying that they intend to act very cautiously in the matter of the reform of the princes so as not to draw down upon themselves the vengeance of Philip II and his Inquisition. The bishops of Lombardy thought of including among the reform decrees of the Council one to protect episcopal rights against the Inquisition; and when this plan was abandoned, 13 of them had recourse to Rome with a request that the proposal of Philip II might be refused. All this was reported to Rome by the legates. The Pope then tried in repeated letters to tranquillize the frightened prelates: if, he said, the Inquisition is set up in northern Italy, it will not be dependent upon Spain but on Rome, it will not injure the bishops, and it will follow the usual course of ecclesiastical law. The legates objected that this would not be enough if the appointment of the officials of the Inquisition was to be in the hands of the king, but at length they accepted the Pope's tranquillizing assurances.

In the meantime they had been working hard in Rome, and apparently with success, against the Milanese Inquisition. All the Cardinals except Carpi, and public opinion throughout the city were opposed to Philip's plan. The splendid reception which was accorded to the Milanese envoys was an expression of the general feeling; the Pope himself assigned the Villa Giulia to them for their residence, and in conversation with the members of the Milanese colony in Rome he held out to them great hopes, though he forbade them under pain of excommunication to report what he had said to Milan.

It seemed as though everything was going well for the Milanese, when it was suddenly reported that the Inquisitor General destined for Milan was expected in Rome, and that the bull which was to introduce the Inquisition into northern Italy was already drafted and consigned to Cardinal Ghislieri. The general fear was increased by some remarks of the Spanish ambassador.

Surreptitiously, "by magic arts" as they expressed it, the Milanese succeeded in getting hold of a copy of the brief, which was immediately sent to Milan. The draft of this document promised the Spanish king the right to nominate the Inquisitor for all his possessions in northern Italy, and gave the Milanese Inquisition all the rights of the Holy Office which had been granted by the Popes since Paul III, including the right to make use of torture.

The first signs of a popular rising now made their appearance at Milan, but the "vicario" at once went to the governor, the Duke of Sessa, who gave the assembled authorities the solemn assurance that he would use all his influence

on behalf of the city, and persuaded them not to send their envoys to Madrid and Rome until they had more definite information. The Milanese allowed themselves to be pacified by these assurances, while their agents in Rome renewed their representations to the Pope, with the result that on September 21st, 1563, they were able to inform their country that their efforts had been crowned with success, and that the Pope had promised not to introduce any change with regard to the Inquisition in Milan.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the Pope had told the Spanish ambassador, de Avila, that the protective measures which had been adopted hitherto were quite sufficient to prevent the entrance of heresy into Italy, and that there was no need to talk of the Spanish Inquisition there. Philip II himself thought it more prudent to abandon his intention, so that Naples also no longer had any reason to fear the introduction of the Spanish tribunal of faith, so much so that in the following year, 1564, they even dared to agitate against the Roman Inquisition.

The reason why Philip II wished to introduce a stricter form of the Inquisition into the province of Milan was the dangerous proximity of Switzerland, and especially of the Grisons; it seemed to him that the old and indulgent Milanese tribunal of the faith did not afford a sufficient defence against the very real danger from that quarter.

In the Eternal City itself the Inquisition often had occasion to show how anxiously it was seeking to safeguard the unity of the faith in Italy. Three executions on a charge of heresy are recorded during the first year of the Pope's reign. The three victims, one of whom was Luigi Pasquali, the preacher of the Calabrian Waldenses, came from the north, and with the exception of Pasquali abjured their heresy before their death. In 1562 the burning of an obstinate monk and Greek bishop, Macarius of Macedonia, who had already twice relapsed and had received circumcision, caused a certain stir. He was followed (January 23rd, 1563) by a heretic from Holland, and on September 4th, 1564, by another heretic from Cyprus, who, however, died a Catholic. All these were foreigners, but in June, 1564, it was discovered that even the orthodoxy of the Roman nobility was not entirely above suspicion, and seven of the noblest Romans, among them the Marquis de Vico, a nephew of Paul IV, were summoned before the Holy Office to answer to a charge of heresy.

We are exceptionally well informed as to the activities of the supreme Roman tribunal during the last two years of the reign of Pius IV, in a volume of the acts of the Roman Inquisition which got taken to Dublin by some means not yet explained. The six condemnations which it contains for the years 1564 and 1565 all concern strangers to Rome.

Protestant students from Germany not infrequently visited Italy in the XVIth century, who, for the most part, if they were careful, were able to travel about unmolested<sup>2</sup> For some unknown reason, however, it happened in June, 1565, that while he was travelling in Italy, Philip Camerarius, a son of the famous Leipsic professor, Joachim Camerarius, was imprisoned with his companion on a charge of Protestantism; by the intervention of Duke Albert of Bavaria and the Emperor Maximilian II, both of them were liberated at the beginning of August.

Of great importance for the activity of the Inquisition, as well as for the preservation of the unity of faith in Italy, was the influence exercised by Pius IV over the Italian states. The courts of Mantua and Urbino were connected with him by ties of relationship, but even the other states had to take him into account. The chief difficulties with regard to the sending of heretics to Rome came from the Republic of Venice, though in other respects Pius IV was on the best of terms with that state. From the first he had shown what great importance he attached to the friendship of the only Italian state which was still quite independent, to which fact the hope of protection against a Protestant invasion of Italy also contributed. The utter disgrace with his government incurred by the Venetian ambassador, Mula, who was deprived of his office and banished because, contrary to Venetian law, he had accepted the cardinalate, did not bring about any substantial change in this attitude; the republic continued to be honoured in every way, and repeatedly received favours from the Pope. On its side the government of Venice firmly upheld its own right to watch over the tribunals of the inquisition, though it did not fail to take action against the cases of heresy discovered in its territory.

Cosimo I, Duke of Florence was speaking generally, very accommodating in matters that concerned the Inquisition. All the ambassadors speak of the Pope's intimate relations with the Duke. Cosimo looked forward to the fulfilment of his ambitious schemes, and especially of receiving the title of king, since, like everybody else, he underestimated the independence of character of Cardinal Gian Angelo de' Medici. He had every reason, however, to be satisfied with what he obtained. The first creation of Cardinals had already given his son Giovanni the red hat, while during his stay in Rome in November and December, 1560, the Pope had heaped favours upon him; he gave the Duke, who was a connoisseur of the arts, the magnificent column which now stands in the Piazza Trinita in Florence, as well as many antique statues. The right of patronage for the archbishoprics of Florence, Siena and Pisa, and of six other bishoprics, which was granted to Cosimo in January, 1561, was of great importance from the point of view of ecclesiastical policy. The next creation of Cardinals, in February, brought disappointment to the Duke, but on the death of Giovanni de' Medici (November 2nd, 1562) Pius IV raised Cosimo's third son Ferdinand to the cardinalate in January, 1563, so that the rich benefices of his dead brother remained in the hands of the House of Medici. Many people thought that Cosimo, who frequently received autograph letters from the Pope, could do anything he liked with his former protegee. Giacomo Soranzo, however, categorically denies this; it was only in financial matters that the Duke had any real influence, whereas in other matters, and even in the dispute for precedence between Ferrara and Florence, Cosimo was very far from getting all he wanted. It is noteworthy that he did not attain to his chief aim of obtaining the title of king. In this matter the opposition of the Hapsburgs was of decisive weight; Philip II saw with much displeasure the close relations between the Pope and Florence, and feared that any increase of his power would put Cosimo in a position to cause disturbance to the Spanish possessions in Italy; he therefore not only resisted Cosimo's scheme of becoming a king, but even prevented his meeting with the Pope at Bologna. The fear of a league of the Italian states still haunted the Spanish monarch, and he very much disliked the establishment of the nunciature of Florence. Nor was it only the Spaniards who worked against Cosimo in Rome, but Cardinal Borromeo as well, who was very far from being well-disposed to him. All the more eagerly therefore

did the Duke try to win over the other Cardinals, the nephews, and above all the Pope himself, who remained devoted to him to the end.

As was the case in Tuscany, so was the Inquisition called upon to take action against the religious innovators at Lucca and Genoa.

The situation of the Church in Savoy was a cause of great anxiety, for there it was threatened by the Waldensians, who were so numerous in the valleys of the Alps. The fortified places, especially Turin and Chieri, which by the terms of the peace of Cateau-Cambresis had remained in the hands of the French, had become hot-beds of Calvinist propaganda, owing to the indifference of the representatives of the French government. The attitude taken up towards this state of affairs by Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, was all the more important as the organization of active measures against Geneva, the head-quarters of Protestantism in western Europe, depended upon him. Pius IV was convinced that some decisive steps would have to be taken against "the new Rome of the heretics," and he therefore energetically took up the plan, already mooted by Paul IV, of crushing the viper in its own nest. For this purpose the Pope counted above all on the Duke of Savoy and the Catholic Swiss Cantons, as well as upon the help of the Spaniards and the Venetians. In the summer of 1560 he set aside 20,000 gold scudi for the Catholic Swiss Cantons, and promised a similar subsidy to the Duke of Savoy if he would undertake the projected campaign against Geneva. The Duke agreed to do this; he was a strong Catholic and an old friend of the Pope, and had shown his zeal against the new religion as early as February 15th, 1560, by the issue of a severe edict against the Waldensians in his Alpine valleys, which he had at once proceeded to put into force. The nunciature which was established in Piedmont in June, 1560, became the centre of the Catholic activities; this Pius IV entrusted to Francesco Bachodi, who was given the powers of legate a latere. The Pope and the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, sent with him the Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, who sought by means of sermons, disputations, and the establishment of seminaries for Catholic missionaries to obtain some lasting success. When gentle measures failed, they took action against the Waldensians by force of arms, but the Duke met with such determined resistance that he found himself obliged to grant to his enemies the free exercise of their religion within certain clearly defined districts by the peace of Cavour on June 5th, 1561. The Pope's zeal for the war projected against Geneva in June, 1560, had been cooled by the in-different attitude of the Catholic powers, and when the Duke of Savoy prematurely disclosed the plan at the beginning of the following year. Pius IV withdrew from the undertaking, which ever afterwards seemed to be impracticable.

Developments in Savoy continued to cause the Pope grave anxiety, the more so as he feared that Filiberto's wife, Margaret of Valois, would apostatize from the Catholic faith. In a brief of January 30th, 1562, he urged the Duke to remove the heretical courtiers and ladies from his wife's suite. The Duke did all that he could to recover the fortresses occupied by the French, and he also sought to prevent the further spread of Calvinism by sending Catholic preachers at his own expense to the threatened districts, while Antonio Possevino did all he could to foster this missionary activity. He advised the Duke to remove all excuse for religious innovations by a reform of the secular and regular clergy, and even after some of the Waldensians had taken up arms, he still wished to rely upon gentle methods

and organized a religious conference, which was, however, without result. The restrictive edicts issued by the Duke were not put into force, with the result that the pretensions of the Waldensians kept on increasing ; at the synod of Angrogne in 1563 they declared that they accepted the teachings of the church of Geneva; they imagined that the Duke was afraid of them and so conspired freely with Geneva. Emanuele Filiberto, who looked upon this as high treason, took much more vigorous action against them in 1565 than he had done for the past five years.

The Waldensians in Calabria had been almost exterminated in a series of bloody battles by the Spanish government in the years 1560-61. The cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards in Calabria were published far and wide by the French in a series of pamphlets.

CHAPTER X.XI

PIUS IV. AND PHILIP II.—THE TURKISH PERIL.

When Pius IV ascended the Papal throne, it was expected that the most cordial relations would exist between him and the King of Spain. Certainly the good-will was not lacking on the Pope's part; as a Cardinal he had been a partisan of Spain, and in view of the state of European politics, his position as head of the Church pointed in the same direction on account of the grave dangers threatening the Catholic religion in Germany, England, Scotland, France and Poland. Philip II. seemed to be the only reliable defender of the old religion, since, on account of the weakness of the Empire, the duty of protecting the Holy See devolved upon the Catholic sovereign who had the greatest power.

On his side, Philip II looked upon himself as the political head of Catholic Christendom. The geographical position of his kingdom pointed to him as its defender against the followers of Islam, since it comprised the greater part of the Christian countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Personally a fervent Catholic, and deeply penetrated by the conviction that ecclesiastical changes must bring civil revolution in their train, the King of Spain watched strictly over the maintenance of Catholic unity in his dominions. The progress of Protestantism in England, France and western Germany affected him directly on account of his possessions in the Netherlands, where the Catholics looked to the Spanish king as their chief protector. Everything therefore combined to make Philip II the champion of the Catholic Church, though his shortcomings affected her interests no less than his good qualities.

Very few princes have devoted themselves to the affairs of state so zealously, or taken their position as rulers so seriously as Philip II, whose natural autocracy was given a special character by the view he took of the heavy responsibilities which lay upon his shoulders. His unwearied assiduity at the council table would have been an excellent thing in the ruler of a small state, but in the case of a monarch who was master of half the world it could not fail to become a grave disadvantage, all the more so as it was united to a great want of decision. Instead of acting, Philip II was for ever thinking things over, trying to gain time and to put off making a definite decision. His instinctive absolutism was shown in his mania for undertaking the personal direction of the smallest details of government throughout his dominions, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Not content with protecting, he wanted to rule the Church. In this fact, as well as in the general development of politico-ecclesiastical conditions in Spain, was to be found the reason why the relations of the king with Pius IV developed in a way so different from what had been expected.

Since the end of the Middle Ages the “Catholic Kings,” by making skilful use of the conditions of the times, had aimed at obtaining a complete sovereignty over the Church in their dominions. While making a great parade of their Catholicism they had, by prayers and threats, wrung one concession after another from the Holy See. After the Popes of the XVth century had already granted them wide powers in the filling of the bishoprics, Charles V had obtained the complete and permanent right of presentation and patronage in the case of all the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees of Spain. In the same way the Spanish government had succeeded in getting into its own hands the right of conferring the greater part of the other ecclesiastical benefices to which revenues were attached, as well as those of the great military orders. It had also, since 1476, exercised a wide supervision over ecclesiastical jurisdiction by means of the “royal council” of Castille. The crown lawyers appealed in this matter to the example of France, and indignantly rejected the idea that there was in this the least wish to infringe upon the authority of the Pope, which they professed to hold in the greatest reverence. This, however, did not prevent great liberties being taken. In spite of all the protests of Rome, the government held tenaciously to its claim to examine every Papal decree, and to pronounce it invalid for Spain if it infringed upon the laws and customs of the kingdom. It is true that all the external forms of respect were always observed, and that the procedure generally adopted was, by way of palliation, designated as the “holding back (retention) of Papal bulls.” In order to reconcile the Spanish church to the state of servitude into which it had fallen, the kings had increased its wealth to such an extent that at the beginning of the reign of Philip II the revenues of the clergy from their landed estates amounted to five million ducats, which was a half of the whole fixed revenue of the kingdom. Of the seven archbishoprics and the thirty-nine bishoprics the most wealthy was the archbishopric of Toledo, which in 1566 was valued at 400,000 ducats. Many of the bishops and prelates made good use of their princely revenues, though there were not wanting some who acted in quite a contrary way.

If the Spanish government had thus increased the riches of the Church its motive had been by no means disinterested, for the goods of the Church served as an inexhaustible source of revenue. In order to levy these subsidies it was necessary, in accordance with canon law, to obtain the consent of the Pope, which was generally given, because in almost all the wars of Spain it was possible to plead the good of religion, but very often the sums raised were used for quite another purpose. This was especially the case with the large sums obtained in virtue of the bull of crusade (Cruzada) which was first granted by Julius II, and afterwards amplified in various ways.

In order to bring the clergy, especially the cathedral chapters and the religious orders, into subjection to the absolute power of the king, Philip II made misuse of the Spanish Inquisition whenever they tried to defend ecclesiastical rights and their own privileges, nor did he hesitate to use it against the laity as well. Rome steadily opposed this abuse, but the kings of Spain successfully aimed at making this tribunal a docile tool by means of which they could efficaciously fight their political enemies and all the opponents of absolutism, while, since two-thirds of the fines and confiscations inflicted by the Inquisition went to the king, the tribunal was also a rich source of revenue; in 1566 it paid over about 200,000 gold ducats. It thus became very important for the Catholic Kings to extend to the other countries under their rule the extraordinary privileges which they



possessed or claimed to possess in Spain. Julius II had granted them the patronage of all the churches in the West Indies, and Clement VII had done the same in the case of the bishoprics of the Kingdom of Naples. In all its Italian possessions the government exercised its right of examining, and if necessary “holding back” all Papal bulls, or the *exequatur*, as it was called in Naples and Sicily. The sovereign privileges claimed in Sicily, known by the name of Monarchia Sicilia, amounted to a real caesaro-papalism.

The Popes had repeatedly sought to limit this caesaro-papalism of the Catholic Kings, but they had always met with the most obstinate resistance. When Philip II ascended the throne the long desired goal had been substantially attained; the Church which was intended to be free had been humbled, and had become the obedient and docile servant of the crown. This unnatural state of things, which was so full of inconsistencies, was in direct contradiction to Catholic principles, and contained the seeds of endless quarrels with the Holy See. When Paul IV had attempted to throw off the Spanish yoke in Italy, the struggle had been embittered by the usurpations of the Spanish government in purely ecclesiastical affairs. The peace of Cave had done so little to remove the source of the trouble that a kind of secret warfare between the Curia and Spain still went on. The true state of affairs is clear from the instructions given in the spring of 1559 to the new nuncio in Spain, Salvatore Pacini, who was told to watch over ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the obedience of Spain to the Holy See, because the royal council had interfered in many ecclesiastical matters, and had gravely prejudiced the cause of ecclesiastical liberty. The already dangerous state of affairs became worse when Philip II, not satisfied with his practically unlimited sovereignty over the Church in Spain, began to claim to have a decisive voice in the affairs of the whole Church. The result of the conclave encouraged him in this; he hoped that in the new Pope he had found a compliant instrument for the carrying out of his desires, since he had at one time been a Spanish subject, and had always lived on friendly terms with Spain. The Pope, however, was a priori little disposed to show such compliance either in important or in small matters.

The diplomatic correspondence between Madrid and Rome was therefore bound to become very difficult. The Spanish nunciature, which, under Charles V, had played a very secondary part, in consequence of the importance of Philip II, both in European politics, and in the various interests of the Catholic Church, now became one of the most difficult, because Philip II acted towards the Church in the same way as Louis XIV a century later.

In order that his Spanish subjects should not have to undertake legal proceedings before the Roman courts, Charles V had induced Paul III to confer on the nuncio the same wide faculties as were given to a legate a latere. To safeguard jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, for the nuncio’s tribunal was also a court of appeal, he was given an auditor to assist him. Instead of easing the situation this new arrangement became the source of endless difficulties. As the nuncios greatly misused their faculties in many ways, the Spanish government was before long very dissatisfied with the arrangement which it had itself made, and asked that a royal assessor should also be attached to the nuncio. The negotiations carried on on the subject with the nuncio Pacini, who had been confirmed by Pius IV, remained without result until March, 1560, with the result that the Pope’s representative had not yet succeeded in presenting his credentials.

On account of the opposition of Pius IV, the question of the appointment of an assessor was not raised again on the arrival of the new nuncio, Ottaviano Raverta, because other matters were for the moment nearer to Philip's heart, especially that of relief from his pressing financial difficulties. The Pope granted him, for three years, a renewal of the bull of crusade (Cruzada), which produced annually more than 350,000 ducats. Pius IV was also since rely desirous of doing all that lay in his power to meet the wishes of the one protector of the Catholic faith he could count on. Put Philip II was insatiable in his demands, as was clearly shown in the negotiations concerning his request to be allowed to levy a very large annual subsidy from the Spanish clergy for the preparation and maintenance of a fleet against the Turks. In a bull which was delivered in January, 1561, by the nuncio extraordinary, Gherio, the Pope granted the annual levy of 300,000 gold ducats for five years, under certain conditions, and at the same time he refused the request which had been subsequently made for the sale of the great Spanish ecclesiastical fiefs. Philip II, without informing the nuncio, thereupon in February sent a courier to Rome with orders to reject the bull, and to obtain more favourable conditions. At the same time he brought great pressure to bear in other ways, especially in the matters of sending envoys to the Council, and of payments to the Pope's nephews, seeking in this way to make the Pope more yielding.<sup>1</sup> It was very difficult for the Pope to come to a decision, because other states as well, such as France, Venice, and Portugal, were seeking similar permission to levy subsidies from their clergy. On account of the critical state of affairs in France the Pope decided to meet the wishes of the King of Spain, and in April, 1562, he sent a new bull, antedated March 4th, by which he increased the subsidy to 420,000 ducats and promised to extend the permission from five years to ten. The permission to sell the ecclesiastical fiefs was held over until after the closure of the Council. The Spanish clergy protested against the proposed retrospective effect of the bull of 1560.

Even now Philip II was not entirely satisfied, although he had every reason to be so, since, according to Paolo Tiepolo, he received during 1563 750,000 ducats from the Cruzada and the Sussidio, which was entirely due to the goodwill of Pius IV. How small, on the other hand, were the payments which were at last made to the Pope's nephews after long negotiations and deliberate delays! According to a memorial drawn up in Rome after the death of Pius IV, the sum total of the ecclesiastical revenues accruing to Philip II by Papal concession was 1,970,000 gold ducats a year!

The representatives of the other states, especially the ambassador of Venice, saw with jealousy and envy the favours granted by the Pope to the King of Spain; Philip had only to make a request, they thought, to have it granted. But they were very much mistaken if they thought that Pius IV had become a merely passive tool in the hands of the Spanish king. Philip II himself ensured that this should not be the case, since the more compliant the Pope showed himself, the more did he increase his demands. Knowing full well that the sovereign of the Papal States, shut in as he was to the north and south by the Spanish power, was almost powerless politically, the ruler of the empire on which the sun never set thought to retain the right that the Holy Father should be at his command in everything. He stood out against Pius IV with all the pride and cruel harshness of his Spanish nature, and it must be admitted that the Pope in many ways went too far in his readiness to give way. With haughty self-assurance the king laid aside all the

respect that he should have shown. The “overbearing contempt” which the royal council showed in its dealings with the Curia gave the impression that it looked upon the Pope as a mere Milanese prelate; the nuncios and other representatives of the Holy See were treated in Spain as though they were the envoys of a subject of the Spanish crown. Difficulties were placed in the way of all the Pope’s wishes, both in great and small matters, while at the same time fresh demands were always being made. Besides the sale of the ecclesiastical fiefs, which would have produced a million ducats, Spain asked for a levy upon all ecclesiastical goods, and the extension for a further five years of the subsidy for the fleet, and for its application to Naples and Milan as well. Claims such as these, together with the whole attitude of Philip II, clearly showed the reverse of the medal, and what lay behind his frequently ostentatious zeal for the Catholic Church, namely, that he was deliberately trying to make it powerless and subservient to his own ends. The disagreements which were in consequence always occurring were bound at last to lead to an open rupture, a thing which, nevertheless, many shrewd observers thought to be impossible, in view of the mutual dependence of the two powers.

If for a time a crisis was avoided this was due to the skilful conduct of affairs by Alessandro Crivelli, who had been appointed nuncio in Spain in November, 1561. By his appointment of this diplomatist Pius IV had openly shown his good will towards Philip II, since Crivelli, who was a Milanese by birth, was a loyal adherent of the Spanish cause, and was as prudent as he was retiring and conciliatory.

Philip II had chosen a man of quite another character as his representative in Rome, in the person of Francisco Vargas, who was a true Castilian. Vargas had many great qualities, especially a wide experience of politics, and a deep knowledge of theology and canon law, but his haughty, arrogant and overbearing nature rendered him little fitted for diplomacy. He set no limits to his zeal for the cause of the Catholic King, and it was his maxim that he must make a show of Spanish ruthlessness on all occasions, or, as he put it, show his teeth to the Pope. Yet, in spite of all this, this ambitious man flattered himself with the idea that he would receive the purple! With unwearied importunity he tried to make the head of the Church follow his advice in all things, thinking that this was the only safe course for the Pope to follow. In spite of his strictly ecclesiastical views, his indiscreet zeal often led him to do injury to the reverence due to the Pope, and to make use of very worldly methods in dealing with ecclesiastical matters. It may be added that he was a strong partisan of the Farnese. It is not surprising, therefore, that very strained relations existed between him and Pius IV from the first. As early as May 1561 there had been violent scenes between them, and this happened again and again. On one occasion, in May, 1562, the Pope turned to Vargas in the presence of many persons and exclaimed that the only thing for him to do was to take up arms and fight the Holy See; that he wanted to lord it completely over the Pope and find fault with all he did; that His Majesty made no return of any kind for the benefits which were continually being bestowed upon the Catholic King. Many times Pius IV declared that he would not have anything more to do with Vargas, and asked Philip

II. to put an end to a state of affairs which had become intolerable by recalling his ambassador. The king promised to do so, but kept on putting off the fulfilment of his promise. So long as the Council was sitting the presence of a man

like Vargas in Rome seemed to him to be necessary, and it was not until the autumn of 1563 that Requesens was sent in his place.

The attitude of Philip in the matter of the Council, the essential point of Catholic interest, had not been all that could be desired from the first. It now became of decisive importance to his relations with the Pope.

In view of the sincerely Catholic sentiments of Philip II, his dilatory and even hostile attitude towards the opening of the ecumenical council, a thing which was absolutely necessary, can only be described as surprising. This attitude, like his failure to accept the Pope's proposals for a Catholic league, and for energetic action against the Queen of England, can only be explained by the painful anxiety of the Spanish monarch to avoid all warlike complications, to say nothing of the lamentable state of his finances. When the Council was at last assembled, the attitude taken up by none of the princes caused so much fear to the Pope as that of Philip II, whose representative in Rome was for ever trying to thwart the policy of the Curia. The way in which the king sought to make use of the conduct of the bishops of his kingdom in questions of dogma in order to extort important concessions from the Holy See, gives a very painful impression. The favourable turn given to the relations between Madrid and Rome in May, 1563, did not last long, and were even made worse by the efforts of the Spanish government to delay the discussions of the Council as much as possible. The Venetian orator, Girolamo Soranzo, openly says that in this they were only aiming at obtaining a lever to wring fresh concessions from the Pope, especially in matters of finance. The same writer clearly shows how the tension became greater when the Pope decided in favour of France in the dispute about precedence. The disrespectful attitude of the court of Madrid, where the Pope was reviled as an irascible man of but little judgment, was in keeping with the recall of the Spanish ambassador. The Pope was deeply roused, and even allowed himself to be led into making open threats against Philip II. He had already spoken of recalling his nuncio in February, 1564, when Spanish influence was interfering with his sovereign rights in Rome. In addition to the former grievances fresh cause of offence was given by the delay of Philip in publishing the decrees of the Council in his dominions, and when the king at last did so, on July 19th, 1564, his love of caesarism led him to add a clause, as a consequence of which many of the most salutary decrees could not be put into force. With regard to those decrees which ran counter to the *Monarchia Sicula* Philip retracted his own ordinance of July 19th, 1564, when the governor of Sicily raised objections to it. The simultaneous recall of Requesens did not, it is true, lead to a complete rupture between Madrid and Rome, but the relations between the two courts became obviously more strained.

It was clearly seen how great the state of tension had become when, in the winter of 1564-65, the Turkish question became extremely threatening. All Europe was ringing with the news of the vast preparations being made by the Sultan Suleiman. For a long time it was uncertain where his attack would be made, but at last it became clear that he was planning a great stroke in the western Mediterranean. Malta was the gate by which the enemy hoped to break in; if this stronghold of the Knights of St. John were to fall, Sicily and the coasts of Italy would be in imminent peril.

Pius IV, who from the beginning of his pontificate had sought to secure the safety of Rome as well as of the coast of Italy, now redoubled his efforts. In a consistory on February 23rd, 1565, he spoke of the Turkish peril, and in that of April 13th he alluded to the activities of the commission which he had set up, composed of Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Mula and Este. He then spoke at length of the Turkish war, enumerated the concessions which he had made to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, and to the Republic of Venice, so that they might defend Christendom against the common enemy, and expressed the hope that Philip II would in the end do his duty in this respect.<sup>1</sup> On May 18th prayers were ordered for the removal of the Turkish peril, and on May 31st it was reported that a Turkish fleet of 150 ships, bearing heavy artillery and 30,000 men had appeared before Malta. The Pope had sent the Knights of St. John 10,000 ducats, but he had sent no troops because he thought that the defence of Malta belonged in the first instance to Philip II, whose father had given the island to the Knights, and who, on account of the nearness of the island to Sicily, was the party principally concerned. When the Knights asked for military help as well, Pius IV sent them 600 men under the command of Pompeo Colonna. Ascanio della Corgna, who was set free from prison, also went to Malta.

Under the supreme command of the Grand Master, Jean de la Valette, the Knights of St. John made so heroic a resistance that the Turks only succeeded in storming the small fort of St. Elmo (June 23rd). In spite of all their efforts the assailants were unable to capture the other two fortresses of the harbour. As time went on their courage flagged more and more ; sickness reduced their numbers, and the fate of the siege was decided on September 7th, by the arrival of the Spanish fleet, whose sailing had been long delayed by the dilatoriness of Philip II, and the excessive caution of the timorous Viceroy of Sicily. On September nth the Turks gave the signal for the raising of the siege.

This failure was a fresh inducement to the Sultan to restore the prestige of Turkish arms by resuming the war on land against Hungary. Here too Pius IV contributed his share by giving 50,000 ducats; half of this sum was sent in hard cash in August, and the other half was paid by Count Biglia, the new nuncio at the Imperial court, who left Rome at the end of September, and arrived in Vienna on October 17th. In the event of peace, or at least an armistice, not having been concluded with the Turks by the following spring, the Pope promised to place in the field 4,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.

Europe had awaited the result of the siege of Malta, which lasted for three months, in the greatest anxiety. The agitation in Rome had been very great, since at the end of May two Turkish vessels had appeared before Ostia, so much so that the city had been placed in a state of defence. The relief at the end of the siege was therefore very great.

The Spaniards, who had had no share in the danger of the Knights of St. John, but only in their success, claimed nevertheless to be hailed as the real victors. Pius IV, however, refused to allow this, and when he informed the Cardinals that the Turks had withdrawn from Malta, he remarked that this success was due to God and the bravery of the Knights. He made no mention of the Spanish help, and made no attempt to conceal the fact that he considered it quite insufficient.

But however great his displeasure with Philip II was, on account of the preponderance of Spain, and his experiences of the utter unreliability of the French government, he found himself, so as to avoid a complete rupture, constrained to treat the King of Spain with great consideration, that monarch who proudly called himself the Catholic King. This came out once more in his treatment of the trial by the Inquisition of Bartolome Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo, who had been imprisoned on August 22nd, 1559, on a charge of heresy. The Inquisitor General, Fernando Valdes, was, like Philip II, convinced of the guilt of the accused. Philip had further a special political interest in the affair; by thus humiliating the primate of Spain he struck fear into the hearts of all the other bishops, and drove them into complete submission, while by the confiscation of the archbishop's revenues he received 800,000 ducats.

The conduct of the trial resulted in a whole series of usurpations on the part of the Spanish government. The concession made by Paul IV that the trial should take place in Spain, with the reservation to the Pope of the final sentence, was understood in Madrid as meaning that the whole affair was to be concluded in Spain. Pius IV protested against this, and adhered to his point of view, but his representatives, Crivelli and Odescalchi, met with insuperable difficulties. Philip II remained deaf to the Pope's remonstrances; Borromeo repeatedly complained that there was no way of helping the archbishop unless they were prepared to come to a complete breach with Spain. In a letter of August 15th, 1563, the king definitely refused, as being a violation of his sovereign rights, to send Carranza and the acts of the trial to Rome, as was requested both by the Pope and the Council. When the Council was concluded he again set to work to do all in his power to prevent the transference of the imprisoned archbishop to Rome. By the advice of the Spanish Inquisition Philip II asked the Pope to send judges to Spain. Pius IV gave way even on this point, but chose men whose character was a guarantee of a just decision, namely, Cardinal Ugo Boncompagni, as legate a latere, Giovanni Aldobrandini as Auditor, the new nuncio, Gio van Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and the Franciscan, Felice da Montalto. This embassy, by means of which Borromeo hoped to secure the recall of Requesens from Rome, is the only instance in the whole history of Papal diplomacy in which three of its members were destined to ascend the throne of St. Peter.

Philip II, who had always taken care to obtain his end under the outward appearances of great respect for the Holy See, showed the legates every sign of honour, but he asked that the Court of the Inquisition, on which the Papal envoys were merely to take their place as co-members, should pronounce the final sentence. This claim, which the legate was bound to refuse, was the result of the same idea of caesarism as had led to the sending of royal officials to the provincial councils. This new interference on the part of the king in ecclesiastical matters drew fresh complaints from Pius IV, and the Cardinal legate was charged on November 17th and 29th, 1565, to make strong protests and to demand the withdrawal of the order, but these instructions had not yet reached Boncompagni when tire news of the Pope's death called him back to Rome for the conclave.

A little while before his death Pius IV had bitterly complained to Cardinal Pacheco and Pedro de Avila, who had been sent as envoy extraordinary in July, 1565, of Philip II and his ministers, saying that he had received worse treatment at their hands than had been shown to any of his predecessors by a Spanish

sovereign. In stern words he declared that Philip II wished to influence the decisions of the provincial councils by means of laymen, that he had assumed the right of interpreting even the Council of Trent, and even claimed to pronounce upon the publication of the pontifical bulls, briefs and decrees. Never before had the Pope so strongly condemned the caesarism of Philip II. "You in Spain" he exclaimed, "wish to be Pope, and to refer all things to the king," but "if the king intends to be king in Spain, I intend to be Pope in Rome."

CHAPTER XXII

GOVERNMENT OF THE PAPAL STATES. THE CONSPIRACY OF  
ACCOLTI.- END OF THE PONTIFICATE.

The great readiness to yield shown by Pius IV to Philip II was caused principally by the weakness of the Papal States. Although they were of great importance in many respects, the temporal possessions of the Holy See had no sufficient means of defence against the great power of Spain, which shut them in both to the north and the south. The long frontier on the side of Naples was hardly fortified at all, and Pius IV. sought to remedy this defect by fortifying Anagni. To the north there was no *point d'appuis* against the attack which might come from Milan, but which might also be undertaken by the Duke of Tuscany, who had become a power to be reckoned with since he had obtained possession of Siena. There was the further disadvantage that the territory of Cosimo, together with that of Urbino, cut the Papal States in half. Orvieto, which was almost impregnable on account of its position, was insufficiently fortified, and the same was true of Perugia, Ancona and Civitavecchia. Ravenna was only given adequate fortifications in the time of Pius IV. Some of the inhabitants of the Papal States, such as those in the Romagna, Bologna, Perugia and Spoleto, had the reputation of possessing a great aptitude for war, but owing to the disconnected nature of their governments they had no unity for military purposes. In 1560 Mocenigo said that the Papal States might put 25,000 soldiers in the field, but that all their capable commanders were in foreign pay; while they could hardly provide 500 armed horsemen between them.

It. had been seen, during the pontificate of Paul IV, how easily, under certain conditions, an enemy could advance to the very gates of Rome. This explains the anxious care of his successor to ensure at least the safety of the Eternal City from a surprise attack by the erection of extensive fortifications. In spite of this the situation in 1563 was still such that the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, was of opinion that the Papal States were so weak that their sovereign could not and should not think of defending them except by peaceful means, since Paul IV by his war had made it plain to all the world what a low estimate must be formed of their military power. The plans formed by Pius IV in 1564 of reorganizing the Papal army were not carried into effect.

Nevertheless, even though they but imperfectly fulfilled their primary purpose of safeguarding the liberty and independence of the Pope, the Papal States were of great value to the Holy See. After Venice they formed the most important power in Italy, so much so that by their means the Pope was able to bring efficacious pressure to bear upon the various governments of Italy, even in



ecclesiastical matters, while apostasy from the Church was rendered very difficult for them.

The territory belonging to the Popes as temporal sovereigns was divided into six administrative districts or legations ; the Campagna of Rome, the Patrimony of St. Peter, Umbria (Perugia), the March of Ancona, the Romagna, and Bologna. In the Eternal City itself, the Pope's power was almost absolute, and Mocenigo describes the power of the Romans as a shadow. A Cardinal legate administered each legation in the Pope's name, but the real ruler was his representative, called vice-legate or president. In the larger cities the Papal authority was represented by a governor, appointed by the vice-legate, or a podestà elected by the citizens and confirmed by the Pope. The smaller cities, which belonged as fiefs to baronial families, were administered by commissaries or vicars appointed by the vice-legate.

The richest province was undoubtedly the fertile Romagna, with its dense and wealthy, but very restless population. It was the one district of Italy where the free peasant was still to be found. Bologna, situated in the fertile grassy plain between Reno and Savena, was the largest and most prosperous city, and had retained almost all the outward appearances of its former civic independence. In the other half of the Papal States, besides the barren mountain districts of the Appenines, the already desolate Campagna and the Pontine Marshes, there were also many fertile districts, as for example the neighbourhood of Ancona in the March, the plain of Foligno in Umbria, and the district round Viterbo in the Patrimony. The economic conditions, however, were by no means in keeping with the natural conditions, which were in many ways so promising. Some of the districts, like the March of Ancona, were only able to export corn in very good years; the production of wine was still very backward everywhere, and only supplied local needs; the Papal States could not compare with Tuscany in this respect, nor in the production of oil. Of the more than 40 cities the more important were: in the Campagna, Anagni, Velletri and Terracina; in the Patrimony, Viterbo, Orvieto and Civitavecchia; in Umbria, Spoleto, Foligno and Perugia; in the March of Ancona, Fermo, Ascoli, Macerata and Camerino; in the Romagna, Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, Forli and Cesena in Bologna the city itself. As a port, Ancona was far more important than Civitavecchia.

Certain decrees made by Pius IV concerning the notaries were very useful for the development of trade. It had been a great drawback that in the Papal States there had been scarcely any archives for the preservation of contracts and processes, and that very often the notaries lacked the requisite legal knowledge, and allowed infringements upon legal rights; Pius IV met this difficulty on October 6th, 1562, by renewing a decree of his predecessor, and at the same time placing the notariate in the charge of the Apostolic Camera; he also introduced a fixed scale of charges for the notaries. The retail dealers in the city of Rome were given a special tribunal for the settlement of their disputes, and their commercial books were given the status of public documents, as had already been ordered by Boniface IX; forged accounts were publicly burned to the sound of a trumpet on the Capitol, and the name of the forger publicly proclaimed. Debtors who tried to evade their liabilities by appealing to various legal exemptions could neither obtain nor avail themselves of such benefits unless they made themselves known

to everyone by wearing a green hat. Pius IV also set himself to the task of frustrating the tricks of the money-makers by the prevention of usurious interest.

As was the case in the other states of Italy, so in the States of the Church political economy limited itself to the regulation of prices and the prohibition of exports. The absence of any stable form of administration caused much harm; each pontificate brought with it a complete change of officials, and the proverbially quick changes that took place in Rome at the court itself, after the election of a new Pope, found an echo in the provinces. Under the pressure of the discontent which had been aroused by the hardships occasioned by the previous administration, the new one was generally disinclined to carry on the system of its predecessor.

Pius IV did not depart from the custom of previous Popes of filling the administrative offices with their own countrymen. Just as in the time of Clement VII these had been filled by Florentines, and in that of Paul IV by Neapolitans, so now they were given to Milanese. All competent observers lament the way in which the latter sought to enrich themselves, and the bad administration of justice, and especially the settlement of tedious legal processes by money payments. It was recognized, however, that Pius IV was genuinely seeking to secure the safety of the Papal States by a series of enactments. The laws which had been made since the time of Pius II against murderers and brigands were confirmed and strengthened, and in order to fight this evil more vigorously, in 1564 Cardinal Mark Sittich was appointed Papal legate for the Marches, though it was especially under his government that the evil consequences of the custom of escaping penalties by payments of money made themselves felt. Pius IV had strictly prohibited duelling as early as November 13th, 1560; this decree referred primarily to the Papal States, but it also bound the civil authorities in general to take proceedings against this evil. By an edict of December 14th, 1564, the privilege possessed by certain confraternities of liberating a murderer from prison on Good Friday or some other fixed day was abrogated. It was especially enacted for Rome on February 18th, 1562, that the palaces of the Cardinals and foreign ambassadors should no longer afford sanctuary to a murderer from the officers of justice. In 1563 Pius IV issued a proclamation against excessive luxury in Rome, and in 1564 and 1565 there were edicts against women and other persons of ill-fame, as well as against that deep-rooted plague-spot of the Eternal City, the vagrants.

A very vital matter was the administration of the Papal finances, and especially the national debt. It was impossible to think of placing the finances on a sound basis so long as the principle obtained of meeting the financial deficit by the so-called Monti, or state loans, by which certain definite imposts were made over to the whole body of subscribers. This system, which entirely withdrew from the public treasury more than half the revenues of the state, was continued by Pius I., who even set up two new Monti. In addition to the already existing saleable offices, he established in 1560 a body of 375 cavalieri di Pio. The number of persons maintained by the revenues of the Apostolic See increased in his time to 3,645. According to the report of the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Soranzo, in June, 1563, the greater part of the revenues was employed to satisfy the creditors of the state. The ordinary revenues, which were drawn from the customs of Rome, from the common taxes and imposts of the city and state, from the salt-

mines of Comacchio and from the feudal payments, were estimated by Girolamo Soranzo at about 600,000 scudi, of which, however the Pope only received such revenues as were not assignable to the creditors, or 200,000 scudi in all, which was hardly sufficient for the upkeep of the court, which cost about 70,000 scudi, for the pay of the Swiss Guard and the light cavalry, and for the salaries of the nuncios and the poorer Cardinals. The greater part of the extraordinary revenues had been furnished in the past by the Dataria, but this, under the strict regime of Paul IV, had only produced, according to the estimate of the not always reliable Soranzo, 6,000 scudi a month; Pius IV increased this to between 25,000 and 30,000 scudi, and again to 40,000 scudi, until the carrying out of the reform again lowered it to 8,000 scudi a month. By means of this the Pope met the deficit in the ordinary revenues, and provided for buildings, presents, and other expenses. In spite of the greatest economy, it was only with great difficulty that the cost of the Council could be defrayed from the existing revenue, and when in addition to that, the defence of the Catholic religion in France and Savoy called for considerable financial help, Pius IV found himself obliged to open out fresh sources of revenue. First of all, in May, 1562, a fresh direct tax was laid upon the provinces and cities of the Papal States, which was to bring in 400,000 scudi, while a hearth-tax was also laid upon Rome and the neighbourhood. By this means and the heavy fines laid upon Cardinals Alfonso Carafa and del Monte, as well as by new state loans and the sale of offices, the annual receipts were raised to 900,000 scudi. The financial help of 50,000 scudi sent to the Emperor for the Turkish War in 1565, gave occasion to a fresh levy, which produced a further 400,000 scudi. In this way, during his six years' pontificate, Pius IV raised about six million scudi. Of this sum, according to an estimate made at the time, a million was spent in extinguishing the debts of Paul IV, a million and a half on buildings and fortifications in Rome, Agnani, Civitavecchia and Ancona, 300,000 scudi on the reception and entertainment of princes, 600,000 on the Council of Trent, 300,000 on the defence of Avignon against the Huguenots, 50,000 in helping the French Catholics, and as much for the Emperor's war against the Turks. There remained a further large sum spent on presents, while a considerable sum passed into the hands of the nephews. The treasurer, Donato Matteo Minale, also appropriated considerable sums.

As was only to be expected, the searching demands made by Pius IV upon the contributions of his subjects caused great irritation and deep discontent. The original popularity of the Pope was entirely lost throughout the Papal States. In July, 1562, pamphlets and broadsheets were spread in Rome in which he was denounced as a tyrant, who deserved death. Pius IV then threatened to transfer his residence to Bologna, caused many arrests to be made, accumulated arms in his summer residence, the palace of S. Marco, and increased his guard. The disturbance reached its climax when, on the second Sunday of August, 1562, a shot was fired from the street into the Hall of Consistories in the palace of S. Marco, where the Pope had been a short time before. It was said that the bullet had been found and that it was a case of an attempt upon the Pope's life. The body-guard was increased and several persons were imprisoned; the Pope did not go out in public any longer, and troops were gathered in the city. In the meantime fresh taxes were under consideration, in which, however, the Pope wished to spare the common people. The situation only became easier when, at the end of August, Marcantonio Colonna came to Rome; the Pope began again to appear in public, but he remained very nervous. At the beginning of January, 1564, it was

rumoured that guards had been permanently stationed at four places in the Vatican for the protection of the Pope. How very necessary such precautions were was made clear during the course of the same year.

In the December of 1564 the news spread in Rome that a conspiracy to kill the Pope had been discovered. Those who were better informed were careful not to speak of this unpleasant affair, but the people had no such scruples. It was only by degrees that the details became known. The head of the conspirators was generally said to be Benedetto Accolti, the illegitimate son of the immoral Cardinal who had been so severely punished by Paul III, and had died in exile in 1549.<sup>2</sup> Benedetto Accolti, who had for a time lived at Geneva, had shown from his youth a great tendency to mental excitement and prophetic imaginations. He also knew how to infect other people with his ideas, such as Count Antonio di Canossa, Taddeo Manfredi, Giangiacomo Pelliccione, his nephew, Pietro Accolti, and Prospero de' Pittori. He succeeded in getting these people to believe that dreams and visions had made known to him that if Pius IV were removed, by resignation or murder, he would be succeeded by a Pope who would be holy, angelic, and who would become the ruler of the whole world, and would satisfy the desires of all Christendom. It was Accolti's plan to present to Pius IV a petition pointing out to him the necessity of his abdicating, and in the event of his refusal to kill him with a poisoned dagger. Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione were to assist him in this act, which he looked upon as a holy deed, and pleasing to God, while the other two, who had not been completely initiated into the criminal scheme, were to await results in the piazza of St. Peter's.

On the day appointed, Accolti, Canossa, Manfredi and Pelliccione, with daggers concealed about their persons, presented themselves at the Vatican. Accolti presented his petition to the Pope, who was attending a sitting of the Segnatura, but at the very moment when he intended to strike his fatal blow, he was seized with such fear that he dared do nothing. The conspirators returned without having accomplished anything, and fell to quarrelling among themselves. Pelliccione, who feared lest the others should reveal the plot, decided to disclose the conspiracy, so as to save at any rate his own life. They were consequently all imprisoned, and an inquiry was immediately opened, which was begun in the prison of Tor di Nona, before the governor of the city, on December 14th, 1564, and lasted till January 5th, 1565.

The Pope, who had already informed the Cardinals of the plot in the consistory of December 15th, 1564, again spoke to them on the subject on January 6th, 1565, and again on the 19th, saying that some of the conspirators had resided at Geneva, but that there was no foundation for the widespread rumour that even some of the princes had had a share in the conspiracy. As far as he personally was concerned, he forgave the offenders, but that for the sake of example he must let justice take its course. The execution of the conspirators was expected as early as January 10th. Francesco Priorato, the envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, visited them on that day in the Castle of St. Angelo, whither they had been transferred from Tor di Nona. According to his account, Benedetto Accolti was a small, ugly man, of varied attainments, and by profession an astrologer. He made no secret that he believed that he had been inspired by God with the idea of killing Pius IV. Priorato further relates that Manfredi had been enamoured of the beautiful wife of Count Canossa, and had thus been won over to the conspiracy. Canossa himself told the

envoy that on the very day of his imprisonment he had made up his mind to reveal the plot to the Pope; he had gone twice to the Vatican but had been unable to obtain an audience. Urged on by the devil and their wild imaginings, says Priorato, the delinquents had determined to kill the Pope, and said so openly: Accolti, who intended to use a poisoned dagger, seemed to him to be a madman on account of his wild prophecies.

The depositions which Accolti and his companions made during the course of the inquiry, gave the same impression, but since torture was employed, their statements are not of very much value. As to his object, Accolti said that he had intended to liberate Italy and the whole world from tyrants, beginning with the Pope. When he was asked who would then be the chosen people and who the angelic Pope, whose coming he prophesied, he replied that he would be a holy man, and an old man like the early Popes, and that he would be that Pope whom the Romans spoke of as "Papa angelico." He only wished to injure the reigning Pope in case of necessity, and with the help of the chosen people. Accolti also stated that he had told Canossa, Manfredi, Pietro Accolti and some others, but not Prospero de' Pittori, that he intended to go to Pius IV, and if the latter would not agree to his proposal, to kill him, not indeed as Pope, for as such he did not consider him, but as a private individual, and the enemy of Christ and the apostolic faith. Accolti confessed that he had taken the aforesaid accomplices with him to the Vatican in order to carry out the attempt. On the other hand he maintained most emphatically that he had initiated some persons of princely rank into his scheme. He spoke of the reading of Lutheran books, as well as of the account by Platina of the conspiracy of Porcaro to kill Nicholas V as having given him the idea of killing Pius IV, and he particularly asserted that Pietro Accolti was urged to it by him.

How filled with fear the Pope was is made clear by the fact that the guard in the Vatican was doubled, and that the only persons admitted to the antecamera were the Cardinals and ambassadors, and nobody else, not even the bishops.

Pelliccione, who had revealed the conspiracy, was pardoned, and Pietro Accolti and Prospero de' Pittori were condemned to the galleys for life. Benedetto Accolti, Canossa and Manfredi, were handed over, as guilty of high treason, to the criminal court of the city, and were barbarously put to death on the Capitol on January 27th. The terrible scene struck even the brothers of the misericordia with horror, although they were well accustomed to such sights. To the end Benedetto Accolti maintained the innocence of his nephew, Pietro, and he as well as his two companions resigned themselves to death, after having received the sacraments on the previous day.

As is generally the case with conspiracies which are crushed before they come to a head, so in this case there still remains a good deal of doubt as to its objects. It is, however, undeniable that Benedetto Accolti was the originator of the murderous plan, and that it was he who had drawn the others into it. In a letter to his parents and relatives, written from the Castle of St. Angelo on January 25th, Canossa protests his innocence, and gives a detailed account of the way in which he had been misled by the fantastic ideas of Accolti. The latter had confided to him that he was in possession of a secret that had been made known to him by God, the truth of which he was willing to prove by passing unscathed through a

burning pyre in the Piazza Navona, in the presence of learned theologians and all the people. He had depicted the future in eloquent words: the union of the Greek Church with Rome, the submission of the Turkish empire, the extirpation of all sects, and the rule of perfect justice under a holy Pope, the anointed of Christ, who would govern as a universal sovereign. Accolti had incited him to the attempt, and had promised him the reward of God and of the future Pope, if he would cooperate in opening the way for him by killing Pius IV, who was not a true Pope. Canossa claimed that he had at first resisted the criminal design, but had at last yielded, and had seen how Accolti, at the very moment when he was about to carry out the deed, had changed colour and had not dared to deliver the blow. He had then declared his intention of giving up the design. “ s Pelliccione can testify, I have bitterly bewailed my folly, and have wished to make it known to the Pope that Accolti still adhered to his intentions. For that purpose I went twice to the Vatican, but could not obtain an audience. On my return I went to the house of Manfredi, and there I heard Accolti say that he intended to carry out his mission to the Pope on the following morning, “with good effect.” He had then wished to return home, but had suffered himself to be detained for the night ; it had been his intention to go in the morning to the Vatican to reveal the whole thing to the Pope before the arrival of Accolti, when suddenly the police arrived to arrest Accolti and Manfredi, for debt, as it was thought at first; when he heard later that the arrest had been made on account of the projected murder, he had offered to appear before the governor of the city to prove his innocence, which he still maintained. He had not given his adherence to the scheme with a view to obtaining any advantages, but, misled by Accolti’s eloquence, he had only wished to serve God. He therefore, on account of his simplicity, his whole behaviour, and the fact that he had not gone to the length of carrying out the murder, claimed that he was not guilty of death. He firmly believed that Pius IV was the vicar of Christ, and hoped that he would pardon him on account of his repentance. In a postscript Canossa records the sentence of death which had been pronounced on the evening of January 25th, and says that he accepts it with Christian resignation, and that he was preparing himself for death in those sentiments.

One can only read these lines with deep compassion for the deluded man; the others too deserve our compassion, for it is evident that their heads had been completely turned by the still prevailing prophecy of the coming of an angelic Pope (Pastor Angelicus).

Pius IV and many others were of opinion that Accolti and his companions had been urged to the attempt by the Calvinists. This can hardly surprise us if we remember the serious fears of an invasion of Italy by the French Protestants which had prevailed for some years past, especially when Accolti confessed that he had been in Geneva, and had read such Protestant books as the Institutions of Calvin, and Luther’s incitements to the murder of the Pope. The Venetian ambassador, Tiepolo, was one of those who inclined to the opinion that the conspirators had been led to their scheme by criminal vainglory, and that they thought they could not better satisfy this than by washing their hands in the blood of a Pope. In this way Accolti would have been numbered among those assassins of the time of the Renaissance, whose outrageous vainglory found expression in a truly demoniacal form.

It was while the trial of Accolti and his companions was going on that Rome became the witness of the splendid marriage of one of the Pope's nephews. In May, 1563, Cardinal Mark Sittich had written to Count Hannibal von Hohenems, who was in disgrace, that the Pope would not even have his name mentioned, and that after the death of Federigo he did not want to have any relatives. Nevertheless Mark Sittich advised Hannibal to come to Rome, and at once pay his respects to the influential Cardinal Borromeo. The unceasing efforts of Mark Sittich to reconcile his brother to the Pope were at last crowned with success. In spite of the serious blow of November, 1563, Pius IV had not altogether given up his thoughts of the exaltation of his house. Thus the Hohenems were readmitted to his favour, and in July, 1564, the marriage of Hannibal to Virginia, the widow of Federigo Borromeo, was under consideration. This, however, did not come to pass, since it was found impossible to come to an agreement with the Duke of Urbino. At length a plan for reconciling the Hohenems and the Borromei was found in the marriage of Hannibal with Ortensia, the half-sister of Charles Borromeo, and on January 6th, 1565, the anniversary of the coronation of Pius IV, the insignia of Captain General of the Church were conferred on Hannibal, which was followed by his marriage to the thirteen-year-old Ortensia. When the fine weather had come, the marriage was celebrated in Bramante's cortile at the Vatican with a magnificent tourney.

A little later, on March 12th, 1565, there followed the long expected creation of new Cardinals. Immediately before the consistory, the Venetian ambassador had again vainly attempted to get the Patriarch of Aquileia, Grimani, included in the list of candidates which had been decided, upon the previous evening. When the Cardinals had assembled, the Pope announced that he thought the time had come to recompense those who, during the Council or in other ways, had rendered faithful service to the Holy See. In reading out the list, which included 22 names, he added in each case the reason why each seemed worthy of the purple. The Cardinals, especially the older ones, were but little pleased with the new nominations, but none of them dared to say so openly. Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese joined with Morone and Simonetta in interceding on behalf of the distinguished Gabriele Paleotto, for whose promotion Borromeo also wished. Pius IV included Paleotto in the list, but on the other hand the Archbishop of Otranto was excluded, because his complete justification before the Inquisition had been no more successful than that of Grimani.

With one exception, the Frenchman, Antoine de Créquy, all the 23 new Cardinals were Italians by birth; six of them came from Milan. Of these Carlo Visconti and Francesco Abbondio Castiglione had rendered important service during the Council, Alessandro Crivelli had filled the difficult Spanish nunciature with so great ability that Philip II himself had recommended his promotion. Francesco Alciati and Francesco Grasso had a great reputation as jurists; the former had been the master of Charles Borromeo, and the latter had won distinction as governor of Bologna. Also closely connected with Borromeo were the private secretary, Tolomeo Galli, who was a native of Como, the distinguished Guido Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, and the two natives of Bologna, Ugo Boncompagni and Gabriele Paleotto; they were all men of high character, and an ornament to the Sacred College by reason of their learning. The same was equally the case with the Calabrian, Guglielmo Sirleto. The fact that the Neapolitan, Annibale Bozzuto, was included, is rather surprising, because he had once been

secretary to Carlo Carafa. The Genoese, Benedetto Lomellini, had filled the same office with Cardinal Rebiba. Cosimo I had interceded on behalf of the Florentine, Angelo Niccolini, the Duke of Savoy for Marcantonio Bobba, Catherine de' Medici for Prospero Santa Croce, and the Emperor for the ambitious Delfino. Among the new Cardinals, Giovanni Francesco Commendone was also a diplomatist, while Luigi Pisani, Bishop of Padua, who was a Venetian like Delfino and Commendone, had done good work at the Council, as had the Archbishop of Taranto, Marcantonio Colonna; the nomination of the jurist, Flavio Orsini, balanced the elevation of this scion of the celebrated Roman princely house. Alessandro Sforza, Count of Santa Fiora, had done good service in the administration of the food supplies. Last of all there was Simone Pasqua, the Pope's physician, who was also a scholar of great repute.

However much personal ties between the new Cardinals and the Pope and Borromeo influenced the choice made at the great creation of Cardinals of March, 1565, it cannot be denied that on this occasion ecclesiastical interests were more taken into consideration than in the creations of 1561 and 1563, and it is beyond doubt that the credit for this is due to the strict Charles Borromeo.

Borromeo had wished for a long time past personally to visit his diocese of Milan. When his desire was fulfilled in the autumn of 1565, his place at the secretariate of state was filled by Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems, who had been authorized by brief since January to discharge all the business of the Papal States; but this appointment only referred to current business, call more important decisions being kept until the return of Borromeo.

Cardinal Borromeo, who had been appointed legate for the whole of Italy on August 17th, left Rome on September 1st at night, so as to avoid the customary ceremonial. He went by Viterbo to Florence, where he stayed from the 7th to the 9th, and was received with great honour by Cosimo. After a short stay in Bologna he reached his episcopal city on September 23rd. There on October 8th he received a visit from Morone. After he had held a provincial council, he went by the Pope's orders on November 6th to Trent, in order to escort into their new country the sisters of Maximilian II, one of whom was promised in marriage to the hereditary prince of Florence, and the other to the Duke of Ferrara. On his way home he received news at Firenzuola in Tuscany that his uncle was seriously ill. A second report was more reassuring, but the Cardinal nevertheless made his way as quickly as possible to Rome, in time to administer to the dying Pope the last consolations of religion.

Pius IV had been very vigorous during the first years of his reign, in spite of his gout, and he had not allowed his frequent attacks to interfere with his attention to business, nor with his activity. He also often suffered from catarrh, and during the spring of 1562 so seriously as to cause him grave anxiety, though he soon recovered. His anxieties in connexion with France and the Council, his periodical attacks of illness, and finally the death of Federigo in November, 1562, greatly taxed his strength. Although he was not healing at all well, he insisted on celebrating the mass on Christmas Day. In June, 1563, Girolamo Soranzo says in his reports that the gout had never troubled the Pope so much as it was doing then, and that as he would not spare himself the doctors were not without anxiety. He had not been able to move for four months. He was moreover suffering from



catarrh, and there had also been symptoms of nephritis, though when he began to be more careful in his diet, the doctors began to hope that he might live for a long time. When this report arrived in Venice the Pope was again suffering from gout, and at the end of November he had that dangerous attack which led the fathers of the Council to bring their deliberations to a rapid conclusion.

The falling off in the mental elasticity of Pius IV, which is noticed by all correspondents at the end of 1563, was the result of his bad state of health, and not of his freedom from the anxieties of the Council. After the Epiphany of 1564, the Pope had completely recovered. He was, however, filled with serious thoughts, and on February 8th he disposed of his private property; a little later he had another attack of gout, and again in March and June. These attacks recurred during 1565 in April and May, though the Pope was still able to carry out the Easter function, which lasted for five hours. At the beginning of May he was very preoccupied with the quarrels of his nephews, and at the end of June he had a severe attack of fever. Soon afterwards he felt so much better that Cardinal Borromeo was able to leave Rome with an easy mind on September 1st. Further attacks of gout followed during the autumn, but the sick man was still able to attend to his duties. In spite of this the idea was widespread among the people of Rome that the Pope would die in December. [ This conviction grew stronger when, on December 2nd, the first Sunday in Advent, the candle nearest to the Papal throne twice went out at mass for no explicable reason. On December 3rd the Pope had arranged for a sitting of the Segnatura as usual on the following day, but during the night he was attacked by catarrh, sickness, pains in his chest and fever. The doctors ordered him to bed but were not very anxious. During the night between the 4th and 5th the sick man had three relapses, one so severe that his attendants thought him dead. Towards morning, however, there was an improvement. The Pope had mass said in his room and received Holy Communion with great devotion, after making his confession. Cardinal Borromeo had been at once informed of this unexpected illness, and all the necessary measures of security had been taken in the city in case the Pope should die. But soon there was a manifest change for the better, so much so that they hoped he would quite recover ; some of the doctors, however, were anxious, because the fever had greatly sapped the strength of the sixty-six year old man.

During the night between December 6th and 7th the Pope had another relapse, and the fever increased. It was rumoured in the city that he was already dead, and the scenes customary at a vacancy in the Holy See began. The sick man was not dead, but his end was fast approaching. On December 8th the Cardinals were summoned, and with their consent the Pope made provision for some of them, and arranged money gifts for his nephews to the amount of 200,000 scudi. Cardinal Borromeo arrived during the night between December 8th and 9th, and the Pope rejoiced greatly at the coming of his faithful counsellor; in the morning the Cardinal gave him Holy Communion, and then administered Extreme Unction. When Morone told him that he had only a few more hours to live, the Pope replied: God's will be done; with the crucifix in his hands the Pius IV died on the evening of December 9th, 1565. The body was placed on a bier in the Pauline Chapel, and afterwards buried in St. Peter's. On December 11th the funeral offices were begun.

In accordance with his instructions, the mortal remains of Pius IV were removed on January 4th, 1583, to S. Maria degli Angeli. His very simple tomb stands on the left of the chapel, which now serves as the choir. The tablet for the inscription, which is adorned with marbles of various colours, is reminiscent of Michelangelo in the design of the cornices, brackets, scrolls, fillets and coats of arms; it must have been designed by an artist who had come under the influence of the master.

If we try to sum up what had been accomplished by Pius IV during his six years' pontificate, we find him to have been, apart from certain exceptions not surprising in one so changeable, a man who with great sagacity and skill took into consideration the requirements of the general conditions of his time, both political and religious, and one who, in spite of his studied moderation, was always careful to maintain the rights of the Holy See. His character, rather cold and averse to all extreme measures, was far better suited for the continuation of the Council than that of Paul IV, who was so self-assured and impulsive, though the fourth Pius lacked the imposing majesty of his predecessor. In spite of this, however, if we compare him with Paul IV, who only too often ruined wise measures by going to extremes, and who may be said to have looked for quarrels, while Pius IV tried to avoid them at all costs, the latter stands out to advantage. On the other hand, Pius IV suffers in the comparison with his holy successor, who may be described as the incarnation of Catholic reform in its highest and most ideal form. But although Pius IV was so little imbued with the new ecclesiastical spirit, and had so many weaknesses, which were not to be found in Pius V, his pontificate is nevertheless of great importance in the history of Catholic reform. It was he who reopened the Council of Trent, and brought it to its successful conclusion, although the difficulties which he had to overcome were enormous. This was the outstanding and undeniable result of his pontificate, which in other respects was overshadowed by many dark clouds. In his determination to keep the control of the Council in his own hands, Pius IV repeatedly interfered in its deliberations in a very personal way, though this does not take away from the wise moderation which also guided him in his relations with the Catholic princes. The new policy of the Holy See which he inaugurated in this matter became of great importance for the spread of the reform and the Catholic restoration. The results of his efforts in this direction, as well as those of his reforming activities, only came to maturity in later times. It is noteworthy that, in spite of all the worldly tendencies of Pius IV, the strict ways of Paul IV were for the most part continued in his time. The chief credit for this is due to his Secretary of State, Charles Borromeo, who worked wonders by his example. This man, to whose perfect disinterestedness, zeal for religion, and spotless purity even the coldest of his critics pay tribute, was to the end the good genius of Pius IV, and it was to him that the Pope's greatest triumphs were due,

CHAPTER XII.

PIUS IV. AND ART.- WORKS IN ROME.— THE VILLA PIA.-ST.  
PETER'S.- DEATH OF MICHELANGELO.

Our picture of Pius IV would be incomplete without taking into consideration his relation to science and art. As had been the case with Paul III his patronage of letters was far less important than his artistic interests.

That Pius IV appreciated scientific and literary merit is shown by the liberal assistance which he bestowed upon writers, as well as by his having conferred the purple on such men as Seripando, Hosius, Navagero, Marcantonio Colonna, Commendone, Paleotto, Francesco Alciati, Guglielmo Sirleto and Charles Borromeo. Many good Latinists were to be found among his private secretaries, such as Giulio Poggiani, Gian Battista Amalteo and Silvio Antoniano. The latter was one of the principal members of the Accademia Vaticana founded by Cardinal Borromeo. From April 20th, 1562, the indefatigable Cardinal gathered together in this a chosen band of friends of like interests and common tastes, who met several times a week at the Vatican at a late hour in the evening, for academical discussions and for their mutual encouragement and instruction. This was Borromeo's recreation after his wearisome daily labours. Besides Silvio Antoniano, the following were to be found among their number: Francesco Alciati, Carlo Visconti, Guido Ferreri, Tolomeo Galli, Francesco Gonzaga, Agostino Valiero, who all received the purple in course of time; besides these there were Ugo Boncompagni, the future Gregory XIII, Sperone Speroni, the Milanese, Pietro da Lonate, and the Count of Landriano. The literary gatherings of these men had something of the character of the Renaissance in so far that, in conformity with the ideas of the time, they assumed other names: Charles Borromeo was called *il Caos*, Galli *il Segreto*, and Speroni *il Restore*. But their spirit was very different from that of the Roman academies of the time of Leo X., which, in the sources at which they drank, and the things which they lauded, paid homage to none but classical literature, and especially to Greek and Latin poetry. In the *Noctes Vaticanae* of Charles Borromeo, the study of profane literature also at first held the place of honour, but the spirit in which they treated it was altogether different from that of the age of the Renaissance. They strictly adhered to the point of view that ancient poetry and philosophy must receive their interpretation and sanction from the light of Christian truth. After 1563, the Accademia assumed a more and more theological character; discussions were held upon the eight beatitudes and the mysteries of the life of Christ, although they still continued to treat of profane matters. Science and faith went hand in hand.

Sperone Speroni dedicated the following beautiful verses to the new Accademia Vaticana :

Schiera gentil, ch l'alto Vaticano,  
Onde umilmente il tuo gran nome prendi,  
Con sì chiaro valore orne e difendi,  
Che invidia tenta ormai di armarsi invano :

Tu di ogni stato tuo sacro ed umano  
Giusta ragione al cielo e al mondo rendi:  
Tu sola forse intentamente attendi,  
L'ombra lasciando, al vero onor sovrano.

Io, che sì poco amar solca me stesso,  
Bon troppo altrui, io tuo padre in etade,  
Ma nolle opre e ne premii inutil servo ;

Or vuò sempre adorarti, se da presso  
Già ti onorai, che la vita, che cade,  
Seco non trahe la mente, ove io ti servo.

How predominant in the literary patronage of Pius IV were ecclesiastical interests was shown in his establishment of a private press, already projected by Paul IV, at the head of which was placed Paulus Manutius. This son of the celebrated Venetian printer, Aldus, was living in a state of great poverty at Padua, when the Pope summoned him to Rome in 1561, and assigned to him an annual salary of 720 gold scudi. His duties were to be the printing of editions of the Fathers of the Church and other ecclesiastical writers, a thing which was being urged by the Council. Paulus Manutius opened his press as early as the summer of 1561, and the city of Rome was to contribute to its upkeep. He attracted celebrated scholars to act as editors, such as Sirleto, Faerno, Latino Latini, etc. Pius IV ordered in several briefs that Paulus Manutius was to choose in the first instance such Latin and Greek works of ecclesiastical writers as were suited to bring out clearly the truth of Catholic dogmas, in answer to the attacks of the religious innovators, and that he was to take into consideration not only such works as had been imperfectly published, but also those that had not been

published at all. The principal source was found in the codices of the Vatican Library, for the completion of which, in May, 1563, and again in the August of the same year, envoys were sent to Sicily to search the libraries there. The results of these researches were to be referred to the learned Cardinal Mula, who was the head of the commission set up by Pius IV for the publication of such works as were called for by the times. Mariano Vittori, who was well known for his writings against the new religion, undertook, by the order of the Pope, an excellent new edition of the works of St. Jerome.

Pius IV on several occasions added to the Vatican Library by purchase, and after the death of Alfonso Carafa Mula became its librarian. On January 8th, 1562, the Pope created the office of corrector of the Greek codices.

The first place among the learned men employed by Pius IV. was taken by Guglielmo Sirleto. This man, who was as distinguished for his vast erudition as for his modesty and piety, lived in the convent of the Theatines on the Quirinal. By his many letters and counsels he exercised a great influence upon the deliberations of the Council, and provided the theological matter for the legates. When the Council was drawing to an end, Seripando was able to write to him that he had done them better service in Rome and given them more help than if fifty prelates had been sent to Trent. He was also highly esteemed by Borromeo.<sup>1</sup> The distinguished Silvio Antoniano, who preached the funeral oration of Pius IV, was also high in the esteem of both the Pope and the Cardinal.

Intended at first to meet a purely practical need, though it afterwards proved to be of the highest importance for historical science, was the attempt of Borromeo to form regular archives for the secretariate of state. It is a thing deserving of our highest admiration that, in the midst of the many and exacting duties which occupied his attention, the Cardinal found time to give his attention to the proper preservation of the current archival documents. By his advice and that of others, Pius IV first ordered the formation of the consistorial archives, and by a brief of June 15th, 1565, charged Cardinal Mula, who had had experience of such work in Venice, to set up a central archivium for the Vatican. Connected with this was the resumption of the transference of the archives from Avignon, which was continued later on by Pius V.

From the very beginning of his reign Pius IV turned his attention to the revival of the Roman University. He interested himself in its revenues, its new buildings, and above all in obtaining for it new professors, the number of whom was increased in 1561 to 24, and in 1563 to 34. Among the new appointments may be named Girolamo Vielmo, Girolamo Politi, Girolamo Parisetti, Marcantonio Mureto and Silvio Antoniano, who in 1564 became the coadjutor of the rector, Camillo Peruschi. The new building, which Pius IV provided for by the creation of the Monte dello studio, was entrusted to Pirro Ligorio. In the Papal States Ancona was given a university in 1562; and the establishment of another at Douai was provided for by a bull of January 6th, 1560.<sup>6</sup> Philip II established one at Dole in 1561 in response to the appeal of Pius IV. The University of Bologna, when it had been "reformed, and almost re founded" by Cardinal Borromeo, who was legate of the city, had its former privileges confirmed.

Among the works dedicated to Pius IV the most noteworthy is that of Lodovico Parisetti the younger, in which, in 1560, he publicly submitted to the Pope his desires and suggestions for the reform of the Church. The work consists of a series of letters composed in elegant Latin. The papacy is instituted, says Parisetti, for the honour of God, and the salvation of mankind; it is not instituted for the sake of the Pope, but rather the contrary, and no one will have to render a more rigorous account before the tribunal of God than the vicar of Christ. Parisetti recommends, as one of the principal means for the reform of the Church, the assembly of a Council, on the ground that one had always been summoned to meet the Church's greatest difficulties. This Council should principally turn its attention to seeing that suitable bishops were appointed, this being a thing of greater importance to reform than the making of many laws; but the bishops, for their part, must devote themselves to their office, and not mix themselves up in other matters. The system of commendams is a cancer upon the religious orders, which has brought it to pass that many monasteries in Rome and elsewhere are empty. As for the Pope himself, he must take the exhortations of the Council as applying to himself, and not alter its decrees at his own caprice; he must try to win the hearts of his subjects and exercise his office in a spirit of charity. He must not admit persons of worldly views to ecclesiastical offices, nor such as scheme to obtain them; above all he must keep far from simony, nor tolerate it in others. Parisetti speaks in very plain words of the abuses which had hitherto prevailed at the Papal court; the sins of the Popes and the bishops had had their share in the blame for the religious disruption. He had himself been scandalized during his stay in Rome by the worldly ostentation and the excessive luxury of the Papal court.

This work is noteworthy as a sign of the times, and it is at the same time to the honour of Pius IV that anyone should so freely have dared to give expression to such grave truths in a book dedicated to him.

The patronage given to art by Pius IV is much more important than that given by him to letters. What had been prevented in the time of his predecessor by the war with Spain, lack of money, and care for ecclesiastical reform, namely, the continuation by the Holy See of its traditional patronage of the arts, was resumed by Pius IV with the greatest zeal. In his anxiety to pass for a true Medici, he was full of eagerness to live up to the magnificent artistic reputation associated with that name. It was not possible to give him greater pleasure than by praising the zeal for building which was a real passion with him.

Of the two palace architects employed by Pius IV, one, the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio, had served his predecessor, and the other, Sallustio Peruzzi, was a son of the celebrated Baldassare, though the younger man showed that he was far inferior to his father.

Pius IV's passion for building was chiefly employed for the Vatican itself. Numerous coats of arms and inscriptions, besides the account books in the State Archives in Rome, bear witness to the extent of the alterations which were undertaken there, as well as of the new buildings which were in the first place concerned with the completion of the Belvedere, where, since the time of Julius III, the Popes had for the most part taken up their abode. At the end of August, 1561, the new portions begun by Paul IV had been practically finished, and

tastefully adorned with statues and fountains. The Pope visited them on August 30th. Some of the rooms, which now form the Etruscan Museum, were decorated with pictures representing biblical, allegorical and mythological subjects, which are still for the most part in a good state of preservation.

The erection of the two floors of the new façade of the Belvedere took place in 1562. At that time, as a drawing by Giovan Antonio Dosio shows, the large cortile was enclosed to the west by plain walls. To correspond with the treatment of the east side begun by Julius II and completed by Paul III, Pius IV caused Pirro Ligorio to carry out a corridor in three floors thus completing the original idea of Bramante almost half a century after the master's death. At the same time Ligorio superintended the execution of the huge niche, the famous Nicchione, which had probably already been planned by Michelangelo when, in the days of Julius III, he gave the staircase facing the exedra of Bramante its present form. Ligorio carried out this scheme by building a second floor on the lower north side, erecting at the same time the half dome over the Nicchione, and crowning it with a loggia giving a beautiful view over the city and campagna. In the time of the Romans similar colossal niches, like the one which today looks over the Palatine in the so-called Stadion in the Imperial palace, was the decoration generally preferred for gardens.

The general effect of the huge cortile thus formed was very wonderful. With its adornment of antique statuary contemporaries praised it as one of the most beautiful and noteworthy creations since the days of antiquity. The work was begun in the summer of 1561, and lasted for four years. On occasions of great festivities, jousts and tournaments, it was difficult to imagine a better setting than this great theatre, closed in to the north by the Nicchione. On festal occasions the Pope and the College of Cardinals took their places on the external stairs leading from the lower cortile to the Giardino della Pigna, the other spectators being seated partly in the porticos of the lateral corridors, and partly in the exedra at the lower end of the cortile.

A striking picture of the festivities with which, on Carnival Monday, 1565, this magnificent cortile, "this atrium of pleasure," was opened, is given in the engraving, carried out with his customary detail, by Etienne du Perac, which represents the splendid tourney, with the spectators massed around, which was held on that day to celebrate the marriage of Hannibal von Hohenems with Ortensia Borromeo, in the presence of all the Roman nobility.

Pius IV had taken a most active interest in the building of the Belvedere. According to the reports of the Mantuan representative Tonina he had visited the works several times during October, 1563, and January, 1564.

During 1563 another work at the Vatican was completed which had been begun in 1560; the Loggia della Cosmografia. The west wing of the third floor of the Loggia had so far remained without decoration. Pius IV had the ceiling and walls of this very richly adorned with stucco and paintings, especially with maps on the walls. According to Vasari this work was entrusted to Giovanni da Udine, who had come to Rome in 1560 with Cosimo I. A glance at the work, which is still well preserved, shows clearly how the master had aged, and how decadent this form of art had become. The inspiration of antiquity has become almost extinct;

changed taste and misplaced learning have introduced into the scheme of decoration subjects and facts which cannot be treated artistically, and give a heavy effect. Sacred and allegorical subjects appear in a strange medley, together with fantastic landscapes and maps, the latter being designed by Pirro Ligorio. The name and armorial bearings of the Pope who commissioned the work are repeated wherever it is possible in a way that is wearisome. Besides this a long series of inscriptions records all the actions of Pius IV. In these he is lauded as the restorer of peace, the champion of justice, the helper of the poor, the promoter of learning, the reformer of ecclesiastical discipline. The Council of Trent, a session of which forms the subject of one of the pictures, is several times justly celebrated as his principal achievement; the same is done with the help given to the French Catholics. The multifold building activities of the Pope, both in Rome and the Papal States, are recorded in detail, while the inscriptions which explain the maps are not without interest. It is noteworthy that neither in the case of England nor Germany is any mention made of their religious apostasy; if one were to judge from the inscriptions it might be thought that no change had occurred in the relations of those countries with Rome. Of Spain it is stated that that land produces the most devoted sons of the Christian religion, and that they spread the faith far and wide. The subjection of Greece to the Turks is carefully recorded, while of Italy it is stated that it is the most beautiful, healthy and fertile country in the world, distinguished for its doctrine, the value and richness of its minerals, and in general for all the necessaries of life; once queen of the peoples, it still possesses in the Holy See the central point of the Christian religion, and is as it were, the one refuge of virtue.

In the same good state of preservation as the third floor of the Loggia is the Hall of Secret Consistories, newly erected by Pius IV. In the middle of the magnificent coffered ceiling are the brilliant gilt armorial bearings of the builder, with the words: "Pope Pius IV in the fourth year of his reign, 1563"

How extensive the works undertaken by the Pope in the Vatican were, is also shown by the adornment of the Sala dei Papi, the Sala Regia, and the Sala Ducale. In the first named, the arms of Pius IV are conspicuous on all four walls; the paintings, however, have suffered so greatly that it is only with difficulty that one can imagine its former appearance. Sturdy cariatides painted in bright sepia with baskets of flowers on their heads, and placed at regular intervals, seem to be supporting the sections of the richly decorated vaulting ; they are fairly well preserved as far as their general outline is concerned. The views of Rome in the wide spaces between, among which is the new Porta Pia, are almost completely destroyed. The Sala Ducale was adorned with a frieze, in which landscapes and figures of the virtues alternate; fine arabesques stand out on the white stucco of the vaulting.

In the Sala Regia, coats of arms and inscriptions record the decorative work, which was carried out under the direction of Cardinal Mula. Since it was there that the ambassadors were received, it was fitting that the paintings on the walls should principally represent events in the history of the Popes relating to the gifts made by the civil princes to the Holy See, and to the relations of the latter with the Emperor. Long inscriptions explain these historical scenes. A number of painters were employed upon them, among whom were Taddeo Zuccaro, Daniele



da Volterra, Girolamo Siccioiante da Sermoneta, Livio Agresti, and Francesco Salviati.

The celebrated casa di campagna, the Casino di Pio IV, or the Villa Pia, forms the crowning achievement of the works executed at the Vatican. This building was constructed facing the Cortile di Belvedere in the southern part of the Vatican Gardens, dost' to a small wood,<sup>1</sup> and has preserved the name of Pius IV in the memory of all lovers of art down to our own days.

Its builder, Pirro Ligorio, was probably born at Naples before 1510, and died in 1583. He was a man of considerable learning and imagination, but was whimsical and fickle. An architect, an engineer, a painter, a writer, and an antiquarian, he nevertheless has a bad name among archaeologists on account of his frequent falsification of inscriptions. His vast knowledge of antiquity and his many other gifts are splendidly shown in his work as architect of the Villa Pia. The view of a writer of the XVIIIth century, that he took as his model an old Roman villa on the Lake of Gabi, is only true in a very limited sense. It is true to say that, as had been the case with the Villa d'Este, so in the Casino di Pio IV Ligorio was able, in a supremely skilful way, to draw upon his extensive knowledge of ancient Roman monuments, but it is impossible to speak of a direct imitation of any definite building of antiquity, since the decorative and architectural forms with which every part of the Villa Pia is profusely adorned, are drawn from ancient Roman models and from many different sources. Antiquity indeed pervades the whole of this graceful building, which is more than ordinarily attractive on account of its beauty, but it is nevertheless an entirely original conception.

Paul IV. had begun the construction of this casino, "the most beautiful resting place for the afternoon hours which modern architecture has produced," in May, 1558, but the works had come to an end by the end of the same year. Pius IV resumed them in May, 1560, and made such rapid progress that in the course of the following year the entire scheme, which is so beautiful, was completed as far as its general features are concerned. In the autumn of 1562 the interior and exterior decoration was also finished, including the setting up of the draped antique figures, so that it was possible to go and live there. A great deal of antique material was used in the construction, a thing which continued to be done for a long time to come.

The Villa Pia was admirably suited for the purpose of providing the Pope with an easily accessible place of quiet and recreation, whither, either alone or with a few friends, he could withdraw from the bustle and pomp of the court. The Villa Pia also holds a particularly important place in the history of building architecture, for it is the only secular building in an almost complete state of preservation belonging to the transition period between the Renaissance and the baroque style. In its architecture, decoration and painting are combined in perfect harmony.

The Villa consists of two small buildings, the Casino proper and the Loggia. The Casino, which is a strictly symmetrical building half hidden in the wood, has added on to it, behind and to the left, a small tower, "as if it had been felt necessary to add this last touch so as to give to the whole edifice the appearance of a happy

informality.” The Loggia stands like a well-house in the middle of a basin fed from “maschere.” In front of the Loggia there is a parterre with formal beds of flowers.

The Casino and the Loggia are separated by an oval shaped cortile surrounded by a parapet with seats, and a graceful fountain plays in the middle. This fountain, the oval basin of which corresponds to the shape of the cortile, is adorned by two marble figures of putti riding upon a dolphin; these are the work of the sculptor Casignola. The paving of the cortile is composed of flat stones of different colours, white travertino and dark peperino, in such a way that there is no regular pattern, thus increasing the general appearance of informality. At the two sides there are entrances consisting of richly decorated gateways, forming vestibules, the outer part of which, towards the Casino, form the beginning and end of the great wall which encloses the whole of the north-west part, especially the principal building, and cutting it off, as though to ensure absolute privacy.

A characteristic of the whole undertaking, which was intended to be, above all things, a splendid example of decorative art, is the complete preponderance of the decorative element over the purely architectural. The façades of both the Casino and the Loggia, display, from top to bottom, a prodigality of graceful decoration. Almost every inch of available space is filled with stucco ornamentation, in such a way that the architectural lines almost entirely disappear. The part taken in the reliefs and sculptures by the antique is noteworthy, and characteristic of the worldly tendencies of Pius IV. On the façade of the Loggia, which is open at both ends, may be seen reliefs in stucco representing Apollo with the nine Muses and two Bacchic figures. The tympanum, in the centre of which is Aurora reclining upon the clouds, is surmounted by an antique female figure. On the north east side a relief represents the nymph Amaltea with a she-goat, which is suckling the infant Jove.

Four columns of grey Numidian granite adorn the entrances of both the Loggia and the Casino. The facade of the Casino, which is without windows, and is purely decorative, has numerous allegorical scenes in relief. Eirene, Dike, Eunomia and Aegle are accompanied by Pan and Silenus, all distinguished by inscriptions. In the central space a five-line Latin inscription in large letters informs us that in 1561 Pius IV erected a loggia, cortile, fountain and casino in the wood of the Vatican Palace for himself and his successors. The marble coat of arms of the Pope stands out boldly underneath this inscription, held up by two winged figures, and surmounted by the crossed keys and the tiara.

From the portico of the Casino, which is richly decorated in mosaics, conches, stucco, paintings and statues, a lower door leads to a wide rectangular hall, the principal feature of the ground floor. There are two other rooms; out of the larger we pass into a small empty one, in which is placed the narrow staircase, which, by means of a few square landings, leads to the first floor, and opens on to a small platform with a balustrade, and lighted by three windows. The apartments on the first floor correspond as to their arrangement and size with the more lofty and airy ones on the ground floor.

The interior decoration of the Casino is even more magnificent than that of the exterior. The floor is covered with small tiles of majolica, arranged with a taste which, both as to the varied design and the bright colouring, recall the best period

of this branch of art. The walls have no paintings; they were intended to be covered with hangings, because frescoes would have spoilt the effect of the antique statues which were placed there, and which were taken for the most part from the villa of Julius III. The principal and out-standing decoration is to be found in the beauty of the ceilings, where a scheme of vaulting "a specchio" has been adopted. "The vaulting springs from a wide cornice, and rises from all four sides to the centre, meeting at the corners in groins which are covered with decoration." Rome already possessed several outstanding examples of this type of decoration in the Loggia of Raphael, at the Castle of St. Angelo, and in the Villa di Papa Giulio. That of the ceiling of the Casino is on the same lines, and was entrusted, by the advice of Cardinal Mula, to a number of artists, among whom were Federigo Zuccaro, Santi di Tito and Federigo Barocci. Barocci, who was a compatriot of Raphael, distinguished himself especially in this work. His paintings are marked by great strength and beauty, both in their design and colouring. In his treatment he departs from that adopted by his predecessors, for whereas hitherto the symbolical representations had been spread over the whole curve of the vaulting, Barocci places the principal motif in the centre, and thus has the most important scene at the true point of view.

The decoration of the ceilings in each of the rooms in the Casino is extraordinarily varied; no two are alike, and each is in some way characteristic of the art of the day. The spectator is presented with a rich display of gilt and painted stucco work, and the motives in each case are extremely beautiful, while the general impression is very fine. Anyone who examines the stucco work even casually will find that it leads up almost insensibly to the paintings themselves. Inscriptions and armorial bearings at every turn pay their homage to the Pope who caused the work to be carried out.

On the ground floor the paintings on the ceiling in the large hall consist of small grotesques, all connected with each other, among which are smiling landscapes and larger decorative frescos of single figures, splendid allegorical figures of women and putti, and lastly of independent paintings, which are separated from the cornice by scenes from the life of Christ. Among these the central point and the principal picture is a magnificent fresco of the Holy Family by Barocci, in which the influence of Correggio is plainly to be seen. The other smaller paintings, which are drawn from the New Testament, are the work of Barocci's principal assistant, Pierleone Genga.

The vaulting of the adjoining room, the decoration of which has much in common with that of the large hall, but betrays a later tendency, and a more advanced baroque style, is also adorned by a fresco of the Annunciation by Barocci. Rarely has this subject been depicted with so great dramatic power as here. The mysterious chiaroscuro, which Barocci employed here for the first time, is in keeping with the subject. The angel, who is shown as a young man, hovers above the Blessed Virgin who, on her knees before her prie-dieu, stretches out her hands in wonder, yet receives the tidings with a royal dignity.

The four pictures in the vaulting of the well of the staircase are important on account of their subjects, and were the work of the Florentine, Santi di Tito; this too was completed under Pius IV. These paintings represent: the Casino itself, as it appeared immediately after its completion, the horses of Montecavallo

with the road which the Pope had constructed, ending in the Porta Pia, the Via Flaminia to its end, the Porta del Popolo, which also had been restored by the Pope, and lastly the Cortile di Belvedere, in which the connecting link erected by Pius IV is not yet to be seen. In these pictures the architecture is only a background; they are rather to be described as dainty little landscapes, enlivened by figures.

The Loggia, which was certainly used for meals in the open air, had a delightful view over the fishpond below, and the flower beds of the garden. On the ceiling, where painting and stucco are alike employed, Federigo Zuccaro painted scenes from the history of Moses. Again here the pictures are drawn entirely from sacred history, whereas one would naturally have been led to expect a return to antiquity. The erotic and mythological paintings round the side walls, however, show how strong a hold such things still had upon men's taste. The changed times nevertheless appear in the fact that in the Casino of Pius IV not only are there many pictures of religious subjects, but also that, in contrast to the Villa of Julius III, the allegorical figures are nearly always draped.

Since the Villa of Pius IV was situated in a more or less hidden place, and was not generally accessible, there is little mention in the guides to Rome of this "little jewel" in which Ligorio so cleverly combined a house and a garden. Contemporaries only refer to it rarely, but all the more fully do they speak of the other buildings with which Pius IV enriched and fortified the Eternal City.

The events of the war of Paul IV with Spain had shown how much Rome stood in need of defences. Pius IV could not forget the experiences of those days. After the news of the sudden defeat of the Spanish fleet near Jerbeh in May, 1560, the Turkish peril was always present before the minds of the Curia. In order to protect his capital against a sudden attack by the Turkish corsairs, Pius IV was not content with strengthening the Aurelian Walls, but in January, 1561, he resolved to undertake a great new scheme of fortification.

The first consideration was to add to the defences of the Leonine City, a matter which Paul III had already taken in hand. A beginning was made by strengthening the defences of the Castle of St. Angelo, where the third pentagonal rampart which had been commenced by Paul IV had been in great measure destroyed by the overflowing of the Tiber in September, 1557. A commission, composed of Cardinals Tiberio Crispi, Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio di Santa Fiora, was set up, which entrusted the general supervision of the works to the commandant of St. Angelo, Giovanni Battista Serbelloni, and his brother, Gabrio, the celebrated military engineer. By the advice of Michelangelo, the carrying out of the new work was given to the well-known engineer, Francesco Laparelli, who was assisted by Latino Orsini, Galeazzo Alessi, Ascanio della Corgna and Francesco Paciotti.

In the last week of February, 1561, the Pope and the Cardinals held a meeting to discuss this important matter, also taking into consideration the question of strengthening the fortifications of the coast.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose Pius IV. had already visited Ostia at the end of January, 1561,<sup>2</sup> and on April 18th he went, accompanied by experts, to Civitavecchia.

On May 8th the first stone of the new fortifications of St. Angelo was laid with great solemnity, the Pope, who was accompanied by a suite of 18 Cardinals and many prelates, himself performing the ceremony. The arms of Pius IV were engraved on one side of the foundation stone, and his name with the date of the second year of his pontificate on the other, while coins of gold, silver and copper were buried with the stone. A salvo of cannon from the Castle of St. Angelo proclaimed the important event to the city.

The work on the fortifications was carried on with feverish haste during the summer of 1561 and until the autumn. In October a Mantuan agent reports that the Pope inspected the progress of the work every day, and desired nothing so much as its completion. To obtain the necessary money for the expenses the tax for grinding corn and slaughtering beasts was increased, in spite of the opposition of the Romans. The sums swallowed up by the fortification of the Castle of St. Angelo may be seen from the account books : for the years 1561-1562 45,502 scudi were expended, in 1563 44,551, and in 1565 46,484. Considerable expropriations of property were needed in order to isolate the passage leading from the Castle to the Vatican; and connected with this was the displacement of the north wall of the ramparts of the Leonine City. The new gate that was made there was called the Porta Angelica, from the baptismal name of the Pope ; armorial bearings and inscriptions record its construction at the instance of Pius IV. There, as on the restored Porta di Castello, may be read another and very significant inscription : "Let him who would preserve the city follow our example."

The enlarged part of the Leonine City received the name of Borgo Pio, and the work of construction was helped on by the granting of privileges. The above mentioned passage, which Pius IV caused to be restored, separated the Borgo S. Angelo from this new quarter. In order to provide convenient means of access seven tall entrance gates were formed, on both sides of which fine shields bearing the arms of the Pope can still be seen.

The old parish church of S. Maria in Traspontina, which stood close to the moat of the Castle, and not far from the bridge, was pulled down to make room for the new fortifications in 1564-1565. Pius V had it rebuilt in March, 1566, the design for the façade being the work of Sallustio Peruzzi.

The Venetian envoy, Girolamo Soranzo, in his report of June 14th, 1563, says that the fortifications in the Borgo and at the Castle of St. Angelo had made great progress, but that the work took so much time and was so costly, that unless another Pope of the same way of thinking should succeed Pius IV, like many other such undertakings, it would never be finished. This view can easily be understood if we bear in mind that the circumference of the fortifications was three kilometres in length and included ten bastions and five gates. Soranzo's prediction was fulfilled, not only on account of the great expense, but also because of the difficulty of finding suitable ground for the proposed bastions<sup>1</sup> in the wider sweep of the ramparts both on the slope of the Vatican hill, and on the north side of the Leonine City between the Belvedere and the Castle of St. Angelo. Bernardo Gamucci extols these new works which were being carried out in accordance with the modern ideas of fortification as one of the wonders of Rome, and says that it is a superhuman undertaking. Pius IV, who had always taken the most keen interest in the work, nowhere else proclaims by means of inscriptions and coats

of arms his responsibility for the work so fully as he does here. A special commemorative medal was struck to record it. Between the years 1562 and 1565 the Castle of St. Angelo was equipped with new cannon and arms, and stocked with supplies; restorations were also effected in the interior and new quarters formed.

Extensive constructions were planned, and partly carried out, for the protection of the coasts of the Papal States. In accordance with the proposals of Martino de Ayala fortified towers were erected near Terracina, Monte Circeo, Anzio and Palidoro, where the inhabitants might take refuge at the approach of the Turkish corsairs. A complete system of such towers was projected, but the fulfilment of the scheme was left to Pius V. At the same time the strengthening of the fortifications of the ports was taken into consideration. At Ostia Pius IV made good in 1561 the damage which that fortress had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards under Paul IV. The works at Civitavecchia were on a larger scale; the Pope inspected them in person several times, first in October, 1561, and again in November, 1563. A medal commemorates the improvement in the harbour and the security given to the city by Pius IV. The work only reached completion under his successor. When, especially in 1562, the Mediterranean coast, and later, that of the Adriatic, were disturbed by Turkish attacks, Pius IV made provision for the protection of his subjects. Specially noteworthy was the improvement carried out by his orders of the defence works at Ancona, where the harbour was also improved. How methodically the Pope proceeded with his fortification works in the Papal States may be seen from the fact that at the end of 1561 he ordered Gabrio Serbelloni to make a tour of the whole territory in order that he might personally satisfy himself as to the places which stood in special need of defences. The Papal States were also in need of protection against other enemies than the corsairs, and Pius IV accordingly in 1561 had the defences of Bologna strengthened, and enclosed Anagni, which was situated in an exposed position, within a completely new line of walls. The Florentine, Giovan Antonio Dosio, who was well known for his archeological researches, drew the plans for this. In May, 1563, Ravenna was fortified, which caused it to be said that fears of a Huguenot invasion of Italy were entertained.

The Pope combined his fortification works with aesthetic considerations in his restoration of the gates of Rome, for which Michelangelo provided many of the sketches. For the new gate which was to take the place of the ancient Porta Nomentana or of S. Agnese, the master made three designs, which Vasari describes as being as beautiful as they were clever. From motives of economy Pius IV chose the one which was the least costly. In March, 1561, the work was commenced upon this new entrance to the city, which was erected between the ancient Porta Nomentana and the Porta Salaria. On June 18th of the same year Pius IV laid the first stone of the gate, which was named after him Porta Pia. The contract made by the Apostolic Camera with the builders employed on this work is dated July 2nd, 1561. In this document Michelangelo is spoken of as the director of the works, and Pierluigi Gaeta appears as overseer. For the sake of safety, a motu proprio ordered the closing both of the Porta Salaria and the old Porta Nomentana, and Count Ranieri was appointed custodian of the new gate, with permission to build an inn there. The façade of the Porta Pia towards the city, which was only completed in the time of Pius IX, clearly shows the intention of the master to give the actual gateway a more imposing appearance; as far as

the construction is concerned this is carried out in such a way as to produce an extremely fine effect, being surrounded by small secondary windows and sham battlements. The construction of the actual adornment is subordinated to this purpose, and is in itself quite trivial.<sup>1</sup> In the upper part, above the entrance, was placed the coat of arms of the founder, carved out of a colossal marble capital discovered under the palace of Cardinal della Valle.

The reconstruction of the Porta del Popolo, which swallowed up more than 10,000 scudi, was decided upon in the autumn of 1561, but was only taken in hand in 1562. On July 23rd of the following year Pius IV. inspected the outer façade; this takes the form of a triumphal arch, and is adorned with four Doric columns, two of granite and two of marble.

The inscriptions on the Porta del Popolo and the Porta Pia tell us of the rearrangement of the streets which was undertaken by Pius IV, which, like the levelling and reconstruction of the piazza near the Lateran and Capitol, were undertaken from motives both of utility and beauty. The street leading from Monte Cavallo to the Porta Pia, which was named after the Pope, was finished in June, 1561, and is one of the most beautiful in the whole city. It is rivalled by the Via Flaminia, which Pius IV improved and beautified as far as Ponte Mo lie. It is impossible to imagine, boasts a contemporary, any entrance to a city more beautiful than this, which so splendidly prepares the stranger for the grandeurs and marvels of Rome.

Pius IV, who also took steps to connect the Via di Porta Angelica with the Via Cassia, and to restore the Via Merulana and Via Aurelia, had even more extensive plans for the well-being of his capital; above all he wished to improve the communication between Rome and the sea-coast. Another of his projects was to prevent the inundations of the Tiber, which so frequently afflicted the city. In order to put an end to the brigandage in the neighbourhood of Rome, the Pope had the woods round Civitavecchia, which formed such a good hiding place, cut down.

In some respects Pius IV was the precursor of Sixtus V, not only by his improvement of the streets, the beauty of which was so praised by his contemporaries, but also because, from the second year of his pontificate, he set himself to the task of providing for one of the most important needs of the life of Rome, a good water supply. With this end in view he entirely renewed the Acqua Vergine. The necessary steps were decided upon in the spring of 1561; not only the Roman people, but the College of Cardinals as well, were to contribute to the cost.<sup>6</sup> In April, 1562, Pius IV inspected the works near Salone. Contemporaries were right in praising this linking up with the work of Nicholas V, the first Pope of the Renaissance. Unfortunately Pius IV did not live to see his efforts crowned with success; the man to whom the undertaking was entrusted, Antonio Treviso, let it drag on with incomprehensible and blameworthy indolence, and the disputes which he entered upon were not yet finished when the Pope died.

His plan of restoring the Acqua Vergine was connected with Pius IV's intention of bringing back life and prosperity to the hill district which had been deserted since the time of Gregory VII, but the fulfilment of this great work too was reserved for another Pope. Nevertheless Pius IV had the satisfaction of seeing

his capital enter upon an era of improvement. All writers are at one in recognizing the great credit due to him for the revival and adornment of Rome. As early as 1563 the number of the inhabitants had increased to 80,000, and a commemorative medal was struck, with the inscription: *Roma resurgens*. Luigi Contarini wrote in 1569: "If this eminently praiseworthy Pope had lived for another four years, Rome, thanks to his buildings, would have become a new city." The shortness of the pontificate was also the reason why Pius IV did not continue the erection of the palace, planned on so grandiose a scale, to house the courts and the legal offices of the city in the Via Giulia, which had been designed by Bramante, and which had only reached the commencement of the first floor in the time of Julius II.

Pius IV took an active part in the completion of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In 1555 the Roman senator, Prospero Boccapaduli, had made great efforts to get the Senate to take in hand the plans which Michelangelo had designed in 1538, but which had only been carried out to a very small extent. At length, however, in the spring of 1563, through the personal intervention of the Pope, the work, which it would appear had been commenced in 1560, took a more favourable turn. After a banquet which the Romans gave to Pius IV. at the Capitol on March 21st, he took the necessary steps; Boccapaduli was named superintendent in 1564, and Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi appear as architects between 1560 and 1577.

Between the years 1561 and 1564 Pius IV erected a new palace in the Via Flaminia near the monumental fountain of Julius III; this was designed by Pirro Ligorio. Restorations and improvements were also carried out in the Palace of Paul III on the Capitol, in the passage leading thence to S. Marco,<sup>1</sup> and above all in the Palazzo Colonna, near the church of SS. Apostoli, which was the dwelling of Cardinal Borromeo. All these works were on a considerable scale, and the expense involved was very great; the Pope took much personal interest in them. At the Villa Magliana he erected a fountain in very good taste, and another near the Porta Cavalleggieri. The assistance which he gave to the Roman College, which the Jesuits were building for their successful educational establishment, was of great value. The work of education was also promoted by the establishment of a college at Bologna, and new buildings at the university of Bologna, on the entrance gates of which the name of Pius IV may still be read. Begun in March, 1562, this building, which is distinguished alike by its beauty and its size, and which marked the opening of a new era in the University of Bologna, was ready for occupation by October, 1563. This was principally due to the energy of Pier Donato Cesi, who was in charge of the government of the city as vice-legate of Cardinal Borromeo. The pontificate of Pius IV and the legation of his nephew are also memorable for Bologna for other reasons; besides the Piazza del Nettuno with its celebrated statue on the fountain of Giambologna, they saw the erection of the beautiful facades of the Palazzo dei Banchi and the Ospedale della Morte, as well as the fountain at the Palazzo Pubblico.

Pius IV showed his care for the churches of the Eternal City on June 27th, and again on August 8th, 1561, by laying an obligation on the Cardinals to restore their titular churches. He himself carried out restorations in the Sistine Chapel, at the Pantheon, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, SS. Andrea e Gregorio in clivo Scauri, S. Marta, SS. Quattro Coronati, SS. Apostoli, S. Chiara, and especially at the Lateran.



In the principal nave of the latter basilica, the name and arms of the Pope are still resplendent in the middle of the magnificent carved wooden roof, as a reminder of the pontiff who adorned his cathedral church with this splendid work of art.

One of the most important artistic undertakings of Pius IV. was his transformation of the best preserved part of the Baths of Diocletian into a great church. The first idea of this probably came from Antonio del Duca, a Sicilian priest who was filled with zeal for the cultus of the angels, and who, as early as 1550, with the permission of Julius III, erected a chapel in honour of Our Lady, Queen of Angels, in the Terme. Very soon, however, to the great sorrow of del Duca, the violence of the Roman wastrels in those ruins brought the work to an end. All the greater was his joy, therefore, when Pius IV once more took up the scheme, in which he was certainly influenced by the idea of repopulating the deserted region of Monti.

It was, however, by no mere chapel, but with a magnificent church that these ruins of the mighty edifice erected by the most terrible of the persecutors of Christianity were to be made subject to the Nazarene who had overcome him, all the more fittingly as the Emperor had employed the forced labour of thousands of his victims in its construction. Condivi and even more fully, Vasari, tell how Pius IV ordered a competition of all the best architects for this work, and how the aged Michelangelo was the victor. The Pope and his whole court, says Vasari, were lost in admiration at Michelangelo's solution of the problem. The master destined for the nave of the new church the central vaulted hall of the Terme, the tepidarium, which was certainly still in a good state of preservation with its eight colossal columns of red syenite. He placed the entrance in front of the choir in a small adjoining hall to the south-east, that is to say in the direction of the modern central railway-station of Rome. Two lateral halls to the south-west and north-east and in the middle of the great central hall were to form the arms of the cross of the basilica; four further halls, the entrance to which was between the columns dividing the side wall, were intended to form as many chapels. There was also to be a side entrance towards the modern Piazza delle Terme. In the middle of the XVIIIth century this was made into the principal entrance, the space intended for that purpose by Michelangelo being walled in and made into a chapel. The result of this absurd alteration is that today, when we enter the church we no longer have before us the mighty hall of the Terme in all its length, and the grand effect intended by Michelangelo is destroyed. There is, however, reason to hope that the old form may be restored to it, a thing which some day will make this church, after St. Peter's, the most effective and imposing in the Eternal City.

On the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, August 5th, 1561, the Pope went with a retinue of twenty Cardinals to the Baths of Diocletian, and, on the spot where the high altar was to stand, laid the first stone of the new church, which was to be dedicated to Our Lady, Queen of Angels. In several briefs the Pope points out how the Terme, which had been built by the sweat of the Christians for the service of pagan sensuality by an infidel tyrant and a bitter enemy of the Church, was now to be used for the worship of Almighty God, and to encourage the piety of the faithful. A coin was struck with the inscription: "What once was used for pagan purposes is now a temple of the Virgin; its founder was Pius; take flight, ye demons!"

The care of the divine worship in S. Maria degli Angeli was given to the Carthusians, who took possession of a convent close by, which, with its great cloister adorned with a hundred columns of travertino formed a worthy counterpart to the new church. In the middle of the cortile may still be seen the remains of the hoary cypresses which tradition says were planted by the hand of Michelangelo, the creator of this foundation. Since the previous monastery of the Carthusians near S. Croce could only be inhabited during the summer months with risk to life, on account of the bad climate, the Order had an interest of its own in the new building, and promised the Pope a considerable contribution towards the expense of its erection. The latter gave the Carthusians proprietary rights over the Terme, disallowing any claims which the city of Rome might make in the future.

The building of S. Maria degli Angeli was only finished in 1566. Pius IV. had visited the new church in July, 1564, and on that occasion he pointed out to the Cardinals the chapels which they were to build. On May 18th, 1565, he made the church a cardinalitial title, and conferred it upon Cardinal Serbelloni. He caused Michelangelo to design a tabernacle for the high altar, which was cast in bronze by the Sicilian, Jacopo del Duca.

Pius IV's high esteem for Michelangelo was shown in his attitude towards the hostility which the aged master still had to face in his capacity as architect of St. Peter's. The election capitulation had bound Pius IV to work zealously for the completion of St. Peter's, but no such incentive was necessary in his case, since he was determined to forward that undertaking with all the energy of his predecessors. Motives of piety came to the assistance of his natural love of building; he was determined that the burial place of the first Pope should be completed, whatever the cost might be. As Panvinio relates, Pius IV. assigned monthly payments to the new building; on March 1st, 1560, he confirmed the privileges of the Fabbrica, and saw to it that the legacies for the basilica were applied to their proper purpose. In May, 1562, however, in order to prevent abuses, he found himself obliged to abrogate the privileges of the commissioners of the Fabbrica, as far as indulgences and other faculties were concerned. On the other hand he showed his solicitude for the Fabbrica in 1565 by exempting it from the taxes which it had had to pay ever since the time of Leo X. A bull of June 20th, 1564, dealt with the goods belonging to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.

How great a personal part Pius IV took in the completion of St. Peter's may be seen from the hitherto unknown evidence contained in a report of the Duke of Mantua's Roman agent, dated March 29, 1561. He says that on the 28th the Pope had climbed the dome of St. Peter's and had on the same day inspected the basilica for the second time.

Pius IV had the joy of seeing such progress made in the works that it could easily be foretold, as a contemporary states, that the new church would be one of the wonders of the world.

The aged Michelangelo remained supreme director of the works. Pius IV not only confirmed him in his former position as architect of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, but also restored to him a great part of the revenues which had been taken away from him by Paul IV. Even more important was the effectual

protection from his enemies which he gave him. These enemies gave him no rest; the beginning of the new pontificate seemed to them a suitable moment for recommencing their manoeuvres. Since Michelangelo was in his eighty-sixth year, and the strength of but few men at that advanced age is capable of heavy work, it was not difficult to make even the well-disposed members of the Fabbrica, such as Cardinal Carpi, believe that the old man was no longer fit to discharge his duties. Statements to this effect reached the ears of Michelangelo, who accordingly, on September 13th, 1560, addressed a letter to his old friend the Cardinal, in which he expresses his surprise that even Carpi should have lent an ear to such nonsense. He continues: "this matter has pained me very much, both because your lordship has been wrongly informed, and because I, as is my duty, desire more than all men that it should go on well. And I think, if I do not deceive myself, that I can assure you in all truth that as far as the work is going on at present, it could not be going better. But since perhaps my own interests and my old age may be deceiving me, and thus, against my will, cause injury or prejudice to the building, I intend, as soon as possible, to ask leave from his Holiness to retire; moreover, to save time, I wish to ask, as I now do, your most illustrious and reverend lordship, to be so good as to set me free from this burden, at which, as your lordship knows, I have, by the command of the Popes, worked gratis for seventeen years. It can plainly be seen how much has been accomplished on the said building during that time by my labours. Once more I earnestly beg of you to accept my resignation, feeling that you could not by any act do me a more signal service. With all reverence, I humbly kiss the hand of your most illustrious and reverend lordship. Michelangelo Buonarroti."

Pius IV did not dream of accepting the resignation of Michelangelo. His appreciation of the great master was again shown by the fact that he chose his plans, among all the others, for the Baths of Diocletian and the Porta Pia. In April, 1562, he made him a present of 200 gold scudi.

In spite of all these manifest signs of favour on the part of the Pope, the opposition to Michelangelo did not cease. It started with Nanni Bigio, who made use of every possible means to obtain the honourable and important office of architect of St. Peter's. His unscrupulous ambition was successful once more in 1563 in winning over the commission for the Fabbrica. When in August of the same year the aged Michelangelo appointed as superintendent of St. Peter's the youthful but extremely capable Pier Luigi Gaeta in the place of the murdered Cesare da Casteldurante, the deputies of the Fabbrica refused their consent. Michelangelo, irritated at this infringement of his rights, held firmly to his nomination of Gaeta, and in his easily understandable excitement said to his friends that if it were not accepted he would retire from the building. His enemies then thought that they had won the day, and that the time was now come to put Nanni Bigio in his place. The old man, they declared, was no longer fit to attend to his duties, and must be given a successor; he had himself said that he did not wish to have anything more to do with the building. But Michelangelo denied any such intention, and charged Daniele da Volterra to explain his attitude to Bishop Ferratini, who was a very influential member of the commission. The latter complained that Michelangelo did not tell anyone, not even the members of the commission, about his plans for the building, and was of opinion that it was time a successor was appointed. He then proposed that Volterra should take his place, and Michelangelo agreed. But at the meeting of the deputies, Ferratini proposed,

if we can believe Vasari, not Volterra but Nanni Bigio; it is, at any rate certain that the commission appointed Nanni Bigio without consulting Michelangelo. Bigio, happy in having at last attained his end, at once issued orders for the building, which showed that he looked upon himself as absolute master there.

Michelangelo was beside himself; he could think of no other course than to go to see the Pope. He met him in the Piazza del Campidoglio. The angry artist complained bitterly of the proceedings of the commission of the Fabbrica, tendered his resignation, and announced his intention of going to Florence, whither the Duke had warmly invited him. The Pope, disconcerted and grieved, tried to soothe the old man and promised to inquire into the matter thoroughly. For this purpose a meeting of the deputies of the Fabbrica was summoned in the palace near the Ara Coeli, and an exhaustive inquiry was made by unprejudiced parties under the presidency of Gabrio Serbelloni. The outcome of this was that Bigio had to retire from his office, although this was effected as kindly as possible, by indemnifying him for his short term of office, which had lasted hardly a month. The Pope himself then named the architect Francesco da Cortona as successor to Michelangelo ; neither Michelangelo nor the deputies of the Fabbrica could feel offended at this skilful expedient. In this way did Pius IV. once more display his great diplomatic skill, even in this artistic controversy. Even though the appointment of Cortona implied a usurpation of Michelangelo's rights, the latter could not take exception to it, since the Pope was the supreme arbiter. Pius IV quite reconciled the master to the change by ordering that not the slightest deviation should be made from the plans of Michelangelo.

The many persecutions which Michelangelo had suffered had not been able to cool his zeal for his direction of the building of the new St. Peter's, a work which he had taken upon himself without any reward, and purely from religious motives, "for the love of God, and out of veneration for the Prince of the Apostles." The self denial and the determination with which, in spite of all opposition, he remained true to his great purpose, gives a truly tragic consecration to his closing years.<sup>1</sup> He did not shut his eyes to the fact that he would never see the completion of his gigantic task. In order to ensure above all the carrying out of his dome, he had already in the time of Paul IV, at the instance of his friends, especially Cardinal Carpi and Donato Giannotti, begun to make a model in clay, from which was made the larger one in wood, which is still preserved in St. Peter's, and which gives all the measurements exactly. How far the building had progressed under Michelangelo can only be decided after a fuller examination of the archives of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's. Judging by the accounts and drawings at present available it may be stated as certain that when the master died the drum was almost finished, the south arm and the south tribune were quite complete, and the north tribune nearly so.

At the end of August, 1561, Michelangelo had a serious warning of his approaching death in a dangerous attack, but he was able to look death tranquilly in the face, since he had always, as a faithful son of the Church, scrupulously fulfilled the duties and practices which she inculcates, with a deep conviction of their necessity and usefulness as the means of salvation.

The vitality of the master, however, was not yet exhausted. He rapidly recovered from his attack, and within a few days was able to go out on horseback.

The proud determination with which he defended himself against the attacks of the enemies of his building of St. Peter's showed that he was still his old self. He continued to work with his chisel, and besides a statue of the Prince of the Apostles, in the dress of the Pope, he employed himself during the autumn and winter, though he was ninety years of age, on a Pieta and a small figure of Christ carrying the Cross.

On February 14th, 1564, the friends of Michelangelo and indeed all Rome were alarmed by the news that the great master was seriously ill. The slow fever which had attacked him was worse on the following day, but in spite of this the sick man was able to get up and sit by his fire. By February 18th he was unable to leave his bed, and on the 18th, at five in the afternoon, an hour before the bells of Rome rang out the Ave, he gave up his great soul to his Creator. The next day the body was carried from his studio in the Macel de' Corvi, not far from the Forum of Trajan, to the neighbouring basilica of SS. Apostoli by the confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollate, to which Michelangelo had belonged for fifty years, his friends, all the artistic world, and his Florentine fellow-countrymen, taking part in the procession. There it was to remain until the monument which the Pope wished to erect to him in St. Peter's was ready. Michelangelo had expressed the wish to be buried at Florence, his native place, in the vault of his ancestors at S. Croce, and his nephew Lionardo carried out this wish. As there was reason to fear opposition on the part of the Romans, Lionardo removed the body secretly, under the guise of merchandise, to Florence, which was reached on March 1st. The next day, the second Sunday in Lent, the removal of the body to S. Croce and the burial took place. The president of the Florentine academy had the coffin opened; the features showed no change whatever; dressed in black damask, the spurred shoes on his feet, a cap of felt in the ancient style upon his head, the master lay there as though asleep. Immediately many poems were written to celebrate the place where one of the greatest artists of all time was laid. When on July 14th, 1564, the solemn funeral rites were celebrated at S. Lorenzo, a picture by Pierfrancesco Toschi was hung over the catafalque representing Michelangelo with the model of St. Peter's before Pius IV.

It is characteristic of Nanni Bigio that immediately after the death of Michelangelo he renewed his efforts to obtain his office. His petition to the deputies of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's is still preserved; it is a mixture of humility and pride, and full of open or covert attacks on the great master. The Pope very properly paid no attention whatever to the document.

The commission of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's had approached the Pope the day after the death of Michelangelo, but Pius IV refused to come to any decision until after he had given deep consideration to the question who was to succeed the master. There was therefore a vacancy of nearly five months. It was only in August, 1564, that Pirro Ligorio was appointed first architect of St. Peter's in the place of Michelangelo, receiving a monthly stipend of 25 gold scudi; Michelangelo had received twice that sum. Jacopo Vignola appears as second architect, and associated with him, in the autumn of 1564. A year later both were dismissed from their posts, it was said because, contrary to the Pope's orders, they had not kept to Michelangelo's plans. So far we have no particulars as to the work done by them on the building. Certainly one of the problems that they had to face was the difficult one of the vaulting of the dome. What an interest the Pope

took in this question may be seen from a document which has only recently been published. From this we learn that the Pope presided at the meetings of the deputies of the Fabbrica whenever the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's was under discussion. The meeting decided to ask the opinion of all the most eminent architects in Italy and abroad as to this matter, which was as important as it was difficult. During the discussions Guglielmo della Porta was especially asked for his opinion, since he was the best informed as to the plans of Michelangelo and Sangallo on account of his intimate relations with them.

The large sums assigned by him to the Fabbrica in 1565 show with what keen energy Pius IV devoted himself in other ways to the great work. The ideas of the Pope, who, from his villa in the Vatican Gardens, was well able to watch the progress of the works, went further than that. According to a hitherto unknown document, he had already planned in July, 1564, what it was only granted to a future generation to see realized; namely, to give to the Piazza of St. Peter's, by means of a colonnade, an adornment worthy of the huge dome.

Pius IV retained his keen interest in art to the end of his pontificate. Besides the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, he was always planning new buildings and streets. His projects were so extensive that in a report of June 17th, 1564, Galeazzo Cusano said : "If the Pope lives for a few years longer, he will entirely renew the face of the city of Rome."



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